



Heath's Modern Language Series

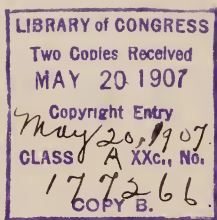
AN INTRODUCTION
TO
VULGAR LATIN

BY
C. H. GRANDGENT
PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY



BOSTON, U. S. A.
D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS
1907

PA 3619
G7



COPYRIGHT, 1907,
By D. C. HEATH & Co.

c
c
c
c
c
c
c

PREFACE.

WHILE this book is intended primarily for students of Romance Philology, it will, I hope, be of some interest to Classical scholars as well. Although it has been long in the making, I have endeavored to keep it, at every stage, abreast of current scholarship. I have tried, furthermore, to treat all portions of the subject, not exhaustively, but with even fulness; I fear, however, that the Syntax—perhaps unavoidably—is somewhat scanty as compared with the other parts. It will be seen that I have continually furnished abundant references for the guidance of those who wish to look further into special topics. My principal authorities are listed in the Bibliography; others are cited in the appropriate places in the text.

C. H. GRANDGENT.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGES
MAPS	x, xi
THE ROMAN EMPIRE	x
THE NEO-LATIN TERRITORY IN EUROPE	xi
BIBLIOGRAPHY, WITH ABBREVIATIONS	xiii-xvi
PHONETIC ALPHABET AND OTHER SYMBOLS	xvii
INTRODUCTION	1-5
VOCABULARY	6-29
WORDS AND THEIR MEANINGS	6-12
<i>Words used alike in Classic and in Vulgar Latin</i>	6
<i>Words used differently in Classic and in Vulgar Latin</i>	7-8
Sense Restricted	7
Sense Extended	7-8
<i>Words used in Classic but not in Vulgar Latin</i>	8-9
Synonyms	9
Substitutes	9-10
Particles	10
<i>Words used in Vulgar but not in Classic Latin</i>	10-12
Native Words	11-12
Foreign Words	12
DERIVATION	13-29
<i>Post-Verbal Nouns</i>	13
<i>Prefixes</i>	13-16
Prefixes used with Nouns, Adjectives, and Pronouns	13-14
Prefixes used with Verbs	14-16
<i>Suffixes</i>	16-28
Suffixes for Verbs	16-17
Suffixes for Nouns	18-23
Suffixes for Adjectives	23-25
Suffixes for Adverbs	25-26
Change of Suffix	27-28

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

V

	PAGES
<i>Compounds</i>	28-29
Nouns	28
Adjectives	28
Pronouns	28
Verbs	28
Adverbs	28-29
Prepositions	29
Conjunctions	29
SYNTAX	30-59
ORDER OF WORDS	30-32
USE OF WORDS	32-41
<i>Nouns and Adjectives</i>	32-34
Comparison	33
Numerals	33-34
<i>Pronouns</i>	34-38
Personal and Possessive Pronouns	34
Demonstratives	35-36
Interrogatives and Relatives	36-37
Indefinite Pronouns	37-38
<i>Verbs</i>	38
<i>Adverbs</i>	38-39
<i>Prepositions</i>	39-41
<i>Conjunctions</i>	41
USE OF INFLECTIONS	42-59
<i>Cases</i>	42-48
Locative	42-43
Vocative	43
Genitive	43-44
Dative	44-45
Ablative	45-47
Accusative	48
Fall of Declension	48
<i>Verb-Forms</i>	48
Impersonal Parts	48-51
<i>Supine</i>	48-49
<i>Gerund</i>	49
<i>Gerundive</i>	49
<i>Future Active Participle</i>	49

	PAGES
<i>Present Participle</i>	50
<i>Perfect Participle</i>	50
<i>Infinitive</i>	50-51
Voice	51-52
Mood	52-54
<i>Imperative</i>	52
<i>Subjunctive</i>	52-54
Tense	54-59
<i>The Perfect Tenses</i>	54-56
<i>Future and Conditional</i>	56-59
PHONOLOGY	60-143
SYLLABICATION	60-61
ACCENT	61-68
<i>Primary Stress</i>	61-66
Vowels in Hiatus	61-62
Compound Verbs	62-63
<i>Illac, Illic</i>	63
<i>Ficatum</i>	63
Numerals	64
Greek Words	64-66
<i>Greek Oxytones</i>	64
<i>Greek Paroxytones</i>	64-65
<i>Greek Proparoxytones</i>	65-66
Other Foreign Words	66
<i>Secondary Stress</i>	66-67
<i>Unstressed Words</i>	67-68
QUANTITY	68-77
<i>Position</i>	68-70
<i>Vowel Quantity</i>	71-77
Vowels in Hiatus	72-73
Lengthening before Consonants	73-75
Disappearance of the Old Quantity	75-76
Development of a New Quantity	76-77
VOWELS	77-104
Greek Vowels	78-82
<i>Accented Vowels</i>	82-91
Single Vowels	82-87
<i>a</i>	82-83

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGES
ē	83-84
ě	84
ī	84
ĭ	84-85
ō	85-86
ŏ	86
ū	86-87
ŭ	87
Diphthongs	88-90
æ	88-89
au	89-90
eu	90
œ	90
ui	90
Influence of Labials	91
Clerical Latin	91
<i>Unaccented Vowels</i>	91-104
Unaccented Vowels in Hiatus	93-96
Initial Syllable	96-98
Intertonic Syllable	98-99
Penult	99-102
Final Syllable	102-104
CONSONANTS	104-143
<i>Latin Consonants</i>	106-137
Aspirate	106-107
Gutturals	107-114
<i>C and G before Front Vowels</i>	109-112
<i>C and G before Back Vowels</i>	112
<i>C and G Final and before Consonants</i>	112-114
Palatals	114-118
Dentals	118-121
Liquids	121-124
<i>L</i>	121-123
<i>R</i>	123-124
Sibilants	124-126
Nasals	127-132
Labials	132-137
<i>P</i>	132-133

	PAGES
<i>B</i>	133-135
<i>F</i>	135
<i>V</i>	135-137
<i>U</i>	137
<i>Greek Consonants</i>	137-141
<i>B, Γ, Δ</i>	138
<i>K, Π, Τ</i>	138
<i>Θ, Φ, Χ</i>	138-139
Liquids, Nasals, and Sibilants	140
<i>Z</i>	140-141
<i>Germanic Consonants</i>	141-143
MORPHOLOGY	144-187
NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES	144-161
<i>Gender</i>	144-147
Masculine and Feminine	144
Masculine and Neuter	145-146
Feminine and Neuter	146-147
<i>Declension of Nouns</i>	147-156
First Declension	149-151
Second Declension	151-152
Third Declension	152-156
Loss of Declension	156
<i>Declension of Adjectives</i>	157-158
<i>Comparison</i>	158-159
<i>Numerals</i>	159-161
PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES	161-165
<i>Personal Pronouns</i>	161-162
<i>Possessives</i>	162-163
<i>Demonstratives</i>	163-164
<i>Interrogative and Relative Pronouns</i>	165
<i>Indefinite Pronouns and Adjectives</i>	165
VERBS	166-187
<i>The Four Conjugations</i>	166-170
First Conjugation	166-167
Second Conjugation	167
Third Conjugation	167-170
Fourth Conjugation	170
<i>Fundamental Changes in Inflection</i>	170-173

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ix

	PAGES
<i>Inchoative Verbs</i>	173-174
<i>Present Stems</i>	174-176
<i>Imperfect</i>	176-177
<i>Perfect</i>	177-182
Weak Perfects	177-180
Strong Perfects	180-182
<i>Pluperfect and Future Perfect</i>	183
<i>Perfect Participle</i>	183-185
<i>Personal Endings</i>	186-187
INDEX	189-219



THE ROMAN EMPIRE ABOUT THE THIRD CENTURY



THE NEO-LATIN TERRITORY IN EUROPE.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

WITH ABBREVIATIONS.

- App. Pr.:** *Die Appendix Probi*, ed. W. Heræus, 1899. A Latin list of correct and incorrect spellings, possibly as early as the third century. Cf. *Mélanges Renier* 301-309; *Mélanges Boissier* 5-9; *Wiener Studien* XIV, 278 ff.; *Romanische Forschungen* VII, 145 ff.
- Archiv:** *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik mit Einschluss des älteren Mittellateins*. Quarterly, Leipzig.
- Audollent:** A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellæ*, 1904.
- Bausteine:** *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie*, 1905. A volume of miscellaneous studies issued in honor of A. Mussafia.
- Bayard:** L. Bayard, *Le latin de saint Cyprien*, 1902.
- Bechtel:** E. A. Bechtel, *S. Silviae Peregrinatio, The Text and a Study of the Latinity*, 1902. Cf. *Per*.
- Bon.:** M. Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours*, 1890.
- Carnoy:** A. Carnoy, *Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions*, 1902-03.
- Chronologie:** F. G. Mohl, *Introduction à la chronologie du latin vulgaire*, 1899.
- C. I. L.:** *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 1863—. New ed. (Vol. I, Part 1), 1893—.
- Claussen:** T. Claussen, *Die griechischen Wörter im Französischen*, in *Romanische Forschungen* XV, 774.
- Cohn:** G. Cohn, *Die Suffixwandlungen im Vulgärlatein und im vorlitterarischen Französisch nach ihren Spuren im Neufranzösischen*, 1891.
- Cooper:** F. T. Cooper, *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*, 1895.
- Corssen:** W. Corssen, *Ueber Aussprache, Vocalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache*, 2^d ed., 1868-70.
- D'Arbois:** H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *La déclinaison en Gaule à l'époque mérovingienne*, 1872.
- Densusianu:** O. Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine*, Vol. I, 1901.
- Dottin:** G. Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique*, 1906.

- Draeger:** A. Draeger, *Historische Syntax der lateinischen Sprache*, 2^d ed., 1878.
- Dubois:** A. Dubois, *La latinité d'Ennodius*, 1903.
- Eckinger:** T. Eckinger, *Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften*, 1892.
- Edon:** G. Édouard, *Écriture et prononciation du latin savant et du latin populaire*, 1882.
- Einf.:** W. Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 1901.
- Facere:** G. Rydberg, *Le développement de facere dans les langues romanes*, 1893. Reviewed by G. Paris in *Rom.* XXII, 569.
- Franz:** W. Franz, *Die lateinisch-romanischen Elemente im Althochdeutschen*, 1883.
- Franz. ə:** G. Rydberg, *Zur Geschichte des französischen ə*, 1896—.
- Futurum:** P. Thielmann, *Habere mit dem Infinitiv und die Entstehung des romanischen Futurums*, in *Archiv* II, 48, 157.
- G.:** H. Goelzer, *Étude lexicographique et grammaticale de la latinité de saint Jérôme*, 1884.
- Gl. Cassel:** *Kasseler Glossen in Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*, W. Foerster and E. Koschwitz, 2^d ed., 1902. Made, probably in France, in the eighth or ninth century. Cf. *Zs.* XXVI, 521 ff.
- Gl. Reich.:** *Reichenauer Glossen in Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*, W. Foerster and E. Koschwitz, 2^d ed., 1902. Made in France in the eighth century. Cf. P. Marchot in *Romanische Forschungen* XII, 641 ff.; K. Hetzer, *Die Reichenauer Glossen in Zs.*, Beiheft 7.
- Gram.:** W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, 3 vols., 1890—1900.
- Grundriss:** G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, 2 vols., 1888—1902; 2^d ed. of Vol. I, 1904—.
- Haag:** O. Haag, *Die Latinität Fredegars*, 1898.
- Hammer:** M. Hammer, *Die locale Verbreitung frühester romanischer Lautwandlungen im alten Italien*, 1894.
- Hoppe:** H. Hoppe, *Syntax und Stil des Tertullian*, 1903.
- Keil:** H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, 1857—1880.
- Kluge:** F. Kluge, *Romanen und Germanen in ihren Wechselbeziehungen*, in *Grundriss* I², 498.
- Körting:** G. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, 2^d ed., 1901.
- Koffmane:** G. Koffmane, *Entstehung und Entwicklung des Kirchenlateins*, 1879.

- Lat. Spr.:** W. Meyer-Lübke, *Die lateinische Sprache in den romanischen Ländern*, in *Grundriss* I², 451.
- Lebreton:** J. Lebreton, *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*, 1901.
- Lexique:** F. G. Mohl, *Études sur le lexique du latin vulgaire*, 1900.
- Lindsay:** W. M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, 1894.
- Loth:** J. Loth, *Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques*, 1892.
- Ltblt.:** *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*. Monthly, Leipzig.
- Neue:** F. Neue, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, 3^d ed., 1892-1902.
- Neumann:** Franz Neumann, *Verzeichniss der auf Aussprache und Rechtschreibung bezüglichen Eigenthümlichkeiten in den Inschriften aus Gallia Narbonensis*, 1897. *Fortsetzung*, 1898.
- Olcott:** G. N. Olcott, *Studies in the Word Formation of the Latin Inscriptions; Substantives and Adjectives, with special reference to the Latin Sermo Vulgaris*, 1898.
- Oliver:** A. Oliver, *Observations on the Use of Certain Prepositions in Petronius with special reference to the Roman Sermo Plebeius*, 1899.
- Part. Perf.:** P. Thielmann, *Habere mit dem Part. Perf. Pass.*, in *Archiv* II, 372, 509.
- Per.:** *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, ed. P. Geyer, in *Itinera hierosolymitana sæculi iiii-viii*, 1898. Written probably in the latter part of the fourth century by an ignorant nun, perhaps from Spain. See Bechtel. Cf. J. T. Gamurrini, *S. Hilarii Tractatus de Mysteriis et Hymni et S. Silvæ Aquitanæ Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, 1887, and *S. Silvæ Aquitanæ Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, 1888; M. Férotin, *Le véritable auteur de la Peregrinatio Silvæ* in *Revue des questions historiques* LXXIV (N.S. XXX), 367 ff.; J. Anglade, *De latinitate libelli qui inscriptus est Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, 1905. Cf. E. Wölfflin in *Archiv* IV, 259.
- Phon.:** P. Marchot, *Petite phonétique du français pré littéraire*, 1901.
- Pirson:** J. Pirson, *La langue des inscriptions de la Gaule*, 1901.
- Pogatscher:** A. Pogatscher, *Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen: II. Teil, Vokalismus der Tonsilben*, 1888.
- Pr. Pers. Pl.:** F. G. Mohl, *La première personne du pluriel en gallo-roman*, 1900.
- Quillacq:** J. A. Quillacq, *Quomodo lingua latina usus sit S. Hilarius*, 1903.
- R.:** H. Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, 1869.
- Regnier:** A. Regnier, *De la latinité des Sermons de saint Augustin*, 1886.

- Richter: Elise Richter, *Zur Entstehung der romanischen Wortstellung aus der lateinischen*, 1903.
- Rom.: *Romania*. Quarterly, Paris.
- S.: E. Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Latein nach physiologisch-historischen Grundsätzen*, 1885.
- Sepulcri: A. Sepulcri, *Le alterazioni fonetiche e morfologiche nel latino di Gregorio Magno e del suo tempo*, in *Studi Medievali* I, 171.
- Sittl: K. Sittl, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache*, 1882.
- Stolz: F. Stolz, *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, Vol. I, 1894.
- Substrate: G. Gröber, *Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter*, in *Archiv* I, 204, 539; II, 100, 276, 424; III, 138, 264, 507; IV, 116, 422; V, 125, 234, 453; VI, 117, 377; VII, 25.
- Suchier: H. Suchier, *Die französische und provenzalische Sprache und ihre Mundarten*, in *Grundriss* I², 371.
- Thurot: *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*: Vol. XII, Paris, 1868, Charles Thurot, *Notices et Extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge*.
- Tiktin: H. Tiktin, *Die rumänische Sprache*, in *Grundriss* I², 564.
- Urbat: R. Urbat, *Beiträge zu einer Darstellung der romanischen Elemente im Latein der Historia Francorum des Gregor v. Tours*, 1890.
- Vok.: H. Schuchardt, *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, 3 vols., 1866-68.
- Waters: W. E. Waters, *Petronius, Cena Trimalchionis*, 1902.
- Windisch: E. Windisch, *Die keltische Sprache*, in *Grundriss* I², 371.
- Wölfflin: E. Wölfflin, *Lateinische und romanische Comparison*, 1879.
- Zauner: A. Zauner, *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft*, 1900.
- Zs.: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*. Four to six numbers a year, Halle.
- Zs. fr. Spr.: *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*. Quarterly, Chemnitz and Leipzig.

Works to which only occasional reference is made are cited in full in the text.

PHONETIC ALPHABET

AND OTHER SYMBOLS.

β = bilabial *v*, the sound of Spanish *v* and *b*.

\eth = the sound of *th* in English *this*.

ɜ = the sound of *e* in French *me*.

ŋ = the sound of *ng* in English *long*.

ö = rounded *e*, the sound of German *ö*.

p = the sound of *th* in English *thin*.

ü = rounded *i*, the sound of German *ü*.

x = the sound of *ch* in German *ach*.

• (a dot) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is close.

˘ (a hook) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is open.

ˆ (a semicircle) under a vowel letter shows that the vowel is not syllabic.

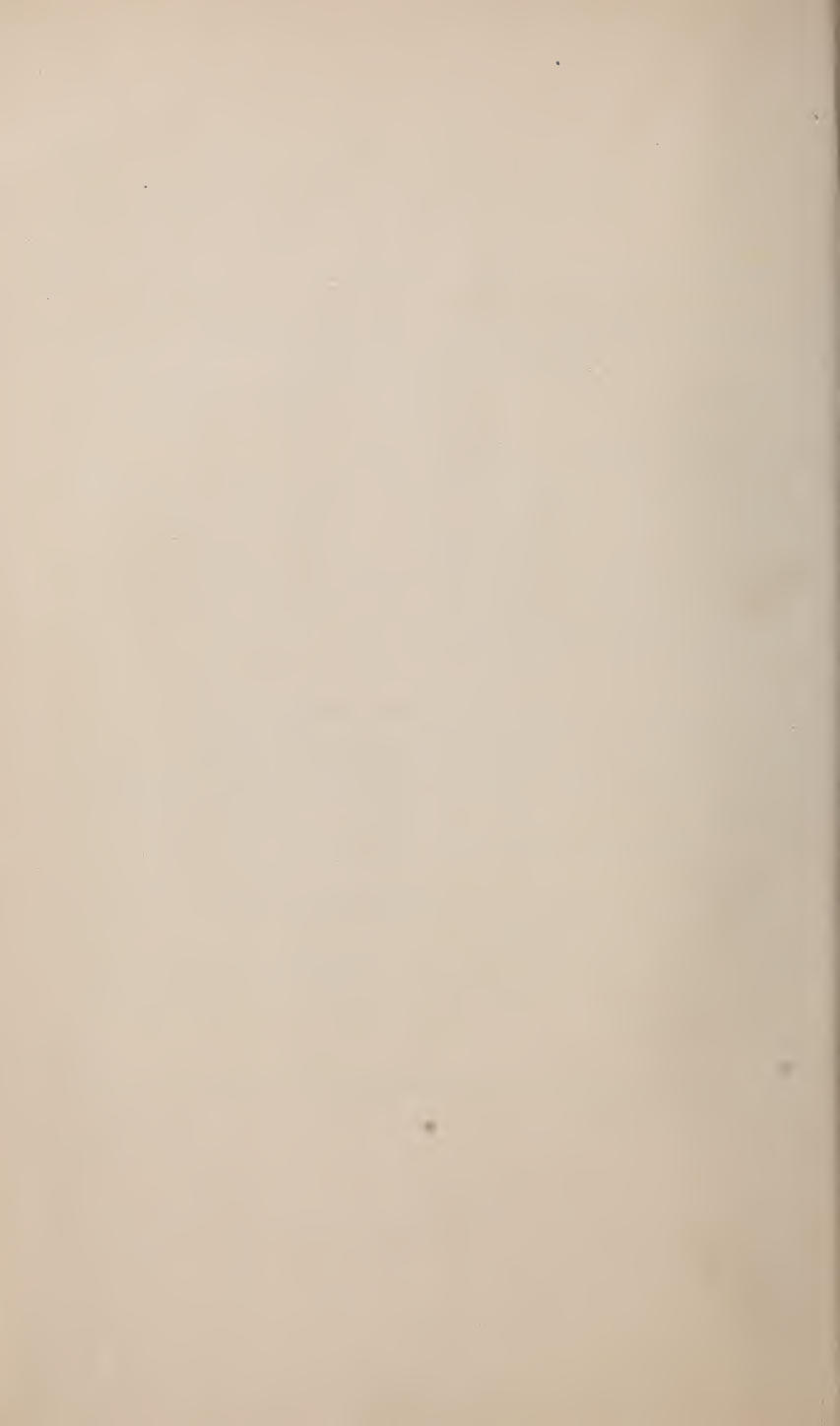
˗ (an acute accent) after a consonant letter shows that the consonant is palatal.

* (an asterisk) before a word shows that the form is conjectural, not attested.

> indicates derivation, the *source* standing at the *open* end of the figure, whichever way it be turned.

SMALL CAPITALS mean that the forms so printed occur in inscriptions (but this indication is used only when for some special reason it seems desirable).

The other marks and abbreviations employed are so generally accepted as to need no explanation.



AN INTRODUCTION TO VULGAR LATIN.

1. The extent of the Roman Empire is shown by the map on p. x. Throughout this territory the official language was Latin, originally the speech of Latium, a little district on the Tiber. The Latin tongue was thus extended to many peoples, representing different races, civilizations, and linguistic habits. In central Italy it was adopted by Etruscans and by various Italic tribes, in northern Italy by Ligurians, Celts, and Illyrians, in southeastern and southwestern Italy respectively by Illyrians and Greeks; beyond the peninsula it spread among Iberians, Ligurians, Celts, Aquitanians, Semites, Germanic tribes, and others still. The Latinization of these peoples was the work of several centuries¹: by 272 B. C. all Italy was subdued south of the Macra and the Rubicon; Sicily became a province in 241, Sardinia and Corsica in 238; Venetia cast her lot with Rome in 215; Spain was made a province in 197; Illyria was absorbed after 167, Africa after the fall of Carthage in 146, southern Gaul in 120; the Cimbri and Teutones were destroyed in 102-1; northern Gaul was a province in 50, Rætia in 15; Dacia was colonized in 107 A. D., forsaken in the third century, and quite cut off from the rest of the Latin-speaking world in the sixth. The Latin language never gained a foothold in Greece; political changes drove it from Great Britain, the Orient, and Africa; in the rest of the Empire it has remained, for the most part,

¹ See Mohl, *Chronologie*; also Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr.*, pp. 451-455.

until the present day, and has been carried thence to America, Africa, and Asia. The map on p. xi marks the parts of Europe where Latin in its modern forms is now spoken.

2. The Latin tongue, like every living language, has always been in an unstable condition. The evidence of inscriptions and of grammarians indicates that from the beginning to the end of Roman history speech was constantly changing, the alteration being most rapid in the earliest and the latest periods. Furthermore, there were at all times, but especially before the Social War, considerable local divergences. The Latin-speaking peoples were not homogeneous, and their speech reflected their varied origin. In Italy the language of Latium was adopted by tribes using, in the main, kindred languages. At first there was sturdy resistance; until the conflict of 90–89 B. C. all southern Italy was under Oscan influence, and Oscan was used in inscriptions until the first century of our era.¹ When Latin conquered, it blended more or less with the native idioms; the resulting geographical discrepancies are manifest in early monuments. The Social War, however, had a levelling effect, and speech in Italy became more uniform; but there doubtless were still noticeable differences in pronunciation and even in vocabulary.² In the outlying provinces, and to some degree in the peninsula, Latin was simply substituted for foreign tongues, and there was little or no mixture; nevertheless a few native words were kept, and there must have been a variety of accent. It should be remembered, moreover, that the language carried

¹ See *Chronologie* 133 and 116–120. Oscan forms are *ligud* for *lēge*, *pru* for *pro*, *ni* for *nē*, etc.

² The S. Italian *nn* for *nd*, *i* for *ē*, and *u* for *ō* may be Oscan. *Pomex*, *ēlex* for *pūmex*, *īlex* are perhaps Umbrian: *Lat. Spr.* 445, 464. The Italian word *zavorra* is possibly Etruscan: *Chronologie* 98–99.

to the several provinces was not identical: it represented different chronological stages and different local dialects of Italic Latin; the earlier acquisitions received a more popular, the later colonies a more official speech. Administration and military service tended to obliterate distinctions; under the Empire the variations probably came to be no greater than those now to be found in the English of the British Empire. We may say in general that the Roman territory, excepting Greece and the East, was completely Latinized by the fourth century after Christ.

3. With the beginnings of culture and literature there came inevitably a divergence between the language of the upper and that of the lower classes, and also between city and country speech. Literary influence is conservative and refining, while popular usage tends to quick change. In late Republican and early Imperial times educated speech became highly artificial, drawing away from the everyday language; on the other hand, the common idiom, throughout the Republic and the Empire, was constantly developing away from the archaic standard of elegant parlance. What we call Vulgar Latin is the speech of the middle classes, as it grew out of early Classic Latin. It is not an independent offshoot of Old Latin: it continues the Classic, not the primitive, vowel system.¹ Neither is it the dialect of the slums or of the fields: grammarians tell us of not a few urban and rustic vulgarisms that are not perpetuated in the Romance tongues. It is distinct from the consciously polite utterance of cultivated society, from the brogue of the country, and from the slang of the lowest quarters of the city, though affected by all of these.² Vulgar Latin naturally developed differently in

¹Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 463-464.

²Cf. Cooper XV-XXX.

various localities, as far as the levelling influence of school and army permitted; the universal inclination of language to diverge was reinforced by the original habits of the diverse speakers and by such peculiarities of native accent as had survived.¹ The differentiation progressed, being accelerated when schools decayed and the military organization was broken, until the dialects of distant localities became mutually unintelligible. At this point we may say that Vulgar Latin stops and the Romance languages begin. Although any definite date must be arbitrary, we may put it, roughly speaking, in the sixth or seventh century of our era. The Vulgar Latin period lasts, then, from about 200 B. C. to about 600 A. D.; it is most sharply differentiated from Classic Latin in the last few centuries of this epoch.²

4. If we compare Classic and Vulgar Latin, we shall see that the latter was always tending to become more flexible and more explicit. We note an enormous development of modifying and determining words, such as articles and prepositions, and an abundant use of prefixes and suffixes. We find also a great simplification of inflections, due partly to phonetic but mainly to syntactic causes. Furthermore, we observe certain changes in pronunciation, some of which can be ascribed to an inclination to discard those parts of words that are not necessary for their identification (as when *viridis*, *vetulus* become *virdis*, *veclus*), some to a tendency to assimilate unlike adjacent sounds (so *ipse* is spoken *isse*, and the diphthong *ai* is reduced to *e*), some to a desire for differentiation (which lowers *i* to *e* to make it more remote from *i*), some to unknown reasons. Why, for instance, *ai* almost

¹Cf. Sittl and Hammer; Pirson and Carnoy; also, for African Latin, B. Kübler in *Archiv* VIII, 161.

²For a history of the Latin language, see *Lat. Spr.* 492-497.

universally became *e*, while *au* did not in Latin generally become *o*, is a problem as yet unsolved.

5. Our sources of information¹ concerning the current spoken Latin are: the statements of grammarians²; the non-Classic forms occurring in inscriptions and early manuscripts³; the occasional lapses in cultivated authors, early and late; a few texts written by persons of scanty education; some glossaries and lists of incorrect forms; and, most important of all, the subsequent developments of the Romance languages.⁴ All of these are to be used with caution. Of especial value are the *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, a considerable fragment of a description of travel in the East, by an uneducated woman (probably a Spanish nun) of the latter part of the fourth century⁵; the *Appendix Probi*, a list of good and bad spellings, possibly as early as the third century⁶; the so-called *Glossary of Reichenau*, made in France in the eighth century.⁷ There is an interesting collection of spells by A. Audollent, — *Defixionum Tabellæ*, 1904.

¹ Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr.* 455-461; G. Gröber, *Sprachquellen und Wortquellen des lateinischen Wörterbuchs* in *Archiv* I, 35.

² Utilized by E. Seelmann, *Aussprache des Latein*, 1885. For a brief account of the Latin grammarians, see Stolz, 55-67.

³ Used by H. Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, 1866-68.

⁴ For the chronology of developments, the distinction of learned and popular words, and the establishment of unattested Vulgar Latin words, see G. Gröber, in *Archiv* I, 204 ff., and VII, 25 ff.

⁵ See P. Geyer, *Itinera hierosolymitana sæculi iiii-viii*, 1898; E. A. Bechtel, *S. Silviæ Peregrinatio, The Text and a Study of the Latinity*, 1902; E. Wölfflin, *Ueber die Latinität der Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* in *Archiv* IV, 259; M. Férotin, *Le véritable auteur de la Peregrinatio Silviæ* in *Revue des questions historiques* LXXIV (N. S. XXX), 367. Cf. E. Lommatzsch, *Zur Mulomedicina Chironis* in *Archiv* XII, 401, 551, and W. Heraeus, *Zur Sprache der Mulomedicina Chironis* in *Archiv* XIV, 119.

⁶ See W. Heraeus, *Die Appendix Probi*, 1899, *Zur Appendix Probi* in *Archiv* XI, 61, *Die Appendix Probi* in *Archiv* XI, 301; G. Paris in *Mélanges Renier* 301, *Mélanges Boissier* 5; W. Foerster in *Wiener Studien* XIV, 278.

⁷ See W. Foerster and E. Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*, 1902; P. Marchot in *Romanische Forschungen* XII, 641; K. Hetzer in *Zs.*, Beiheft 7.

I. VOCABULARY.¹

A. WORDS AND THEIR MEANINGS.

6. It is natural that the speech of the literary and fashionable classes should differ from that of the common people; so it is in all civilized communities. Literature inclines to extend the senses of words, popular use tends to restrict them. The polite language, too, has many poetic figures and many abstract terms unknown to the crowd. On the other hand, the vulgar idiom has homely metaphors of its own and numerous specific, technical words not found in literature.

1. WORDS USED ALIKE IN CLASSIC AND VULGAR LATIN.

7. This class includes a great mass of words, forming, so to speak, the nucleus of the language. Examples are: *canis*, *filius*, *mater*, *panis*, *pater*, *puteus*, *vacca*; *altus*, *bonus*, *longus*, *viridis*; *amare*, *audire*, *dicere*, *vendere*; *bene*, *male*; *quando*, *si*; *in*.

¹See Densusianu, 185-203; W. Heræus, *Die römische Soldatensprache* in *Archiv* XII, 255, *Die Sprache der römischen Kinderstube* in *Archiv* XIII, 149. For an approximately complete vocabulary, reconstructed out of Romance words, see G. Körting, *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, 1901. For a thorough discussion of reconstructed forms, see G. Gröber, *Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter* in *Archiv*: I, 233 ff. (*abbreviare*—*buttis*), 539 ff. (*caccubus*—*curbus*); II, 100 ff. (*damnum*—*dui*), 276 ff. (*eber*—*fiticum*), 424 ff. (*flagrare*—*gutta*); III, 138 ff. (*hædus*—*ilicem*), 264 ff. (*ille*—*lamna*), 507 ff. (*lacusta*—*mille*); IV, 116 ff. (*minaciæ*—*nutrire*), 422 ff. (*obedire*—*putidus*); V, 125 ff. (*quadraginta*—*rasculare*), 234 ff. (*reburrus*—*runcare*), 453 ff. (*sabanum*—*suus*); VI, 117 ff. (*tabanus*—*zirulare*), 377 ff. (supplement.)

2. WORDS USED DIFFERENTLY IN CLASSIC AND IN VULGAR LATIN.

8. Very many Classic words are used in Vulgar Latin with a different sense: *comparare* = 'buy', *focus* = 'fire', *paganus* = 'pagan', *viaticum* = 'journey'. *Capit* assumed the meaning of *feri potest*: R. 351-352, *non capit prophetam perire*, etc.; Hoppe 48, *hæc æstimare non capit, non capit utique videri Deus*.

Most of the examples can be classified under the heads of restriction or extension of meaning.

a. SENSE RESTRICTED.

9. This happens frequently, a word assuming a more definite or concrete signification: *cognatus* = 'brother-in-law'; *collocare* = 'put to bed' (*se collocare* = 'go to bed', Bon. 286); *dominicus* = *divinus*; *ingenium* = 'trick', Bon. 283; *lectio* = 'text'; *machinari* = 'grind'; *mulier* = 'wife'; *necare* = 'drown', Bon. 286, Dubois 220; *orbis* = 'blind'; *tractatus* = 'treatise'.

Many words kept their literal but lost their metaphorical sense: *captio* = 'act of taking', G. 243, not 'sophism' nor 'deceit'; *robur* = 'oak', not 'strength', 'authority', nor 'best part'.

b. SENSE EXTENDED.¹

10. The general use of a word in an extended sense is not common, but there are some examples: *fortis* = 'strong' in all senses, Bayard 105; *infans* = 'child', Pirson 257-258; *parentes* = 'relatives', Pirson 260-262; *se plicare* = 'go', *Per.* 46, 11, etc.; *villa* = 'town', G. 272.

Many words, however, assume a new meaning in addition to the old one: *ambulare* = 'march', *Archiv* XII, 269-270, Bechtel 137, etc., and also 'continue', Regnier 24, perhaps

¹ Cf. Bayard 63-202, Bon. 235-328, Dubois 185-225, Quillacq 54-79.

'go'; *debere* indicates moral obligation, G. 418; *facere* = 'pass (time)', Regnier 27 (*quadraginta dies fecit*), *Per.* 66,¹¹, etc.; *fascia* means a measure of land, Pirson 255; *habet* is used like the French *ily a*, G. 422 (*in arca Noe . . . habuit serpentes*), Regnier 29 (*in carne paucas habet virgines sanctimoniales*), Bechtel 127 (*habebat de eo loco forsitan quattuor milia*, etc.), *Per.* 37,¹³, etc.; *homo* has the sense of French *on*, Regnier 20, Dubois 218; *ille* = 'the' and 'he', Bechtel 144, Bon. 258 ff.; *populus minutus* = 'common people', Waters Ch. 44; *replicare* = 'reply', Dubois, 204; *res* is used of persons, Waters Ch. 58 (*bella res*); *satis* = 'much', Bayard 83, *Per.* 38,²⁵, etc.; *unus* = 'a', Bechtel 144; *virtutes* = 'miracles' (in imitation of the Greek), Bayard 94.

So various prepositions and conjunctions (as *ad*, *apud*, *cum*, *de*, *per*, and *quasi*, *quia*, *quod*, *quomodo*) assumed new functions. *Unde* came to mean 'and so', Bon. 328.

3. WORDS USED IN CLASSIC BUT NOT IN VULGAR LATIN.

11. Numerous Classic Latin words either were not employed at all in the vulgar speech or went out of use before the earliest monuments of the Romance languages: so *funus*, *jubere*, *proles*. Very many adverbs and conjunctions disappeared: *an*, *at*, *autem*, *diu*, *donec*, *enim*, *ergo*, *etiam*, *haud*, *igitur*, *ita*, *nam*, *postquam*, *quidem*, *quin*, *quippe*, *quoad*, *quoque*, *saltem*, *sed*, *sive*, *ut*, *utrum*, *vel*, etc.; *tamen* must have been moribund, although it is common in the *Peregrinatio*. Poetic terms and some abstract nouns were not needed: *aurora*, *frondifer*, *horrescere*, *fletus*. Ecclesiastical Latin, to be sure, is very rich in abstract nouns (G. 391-397, Dubois 301-308), but most of them are new formations. When lost terms were needed for literary or other purposes, they were either bor-

rowed from Classic or clerical Latin (as *nobilis*) or replaced by new constructions (as **carrica* for *onus*).

a. SYNONYMS.

12. When Latin had two words nearly synonymous, one often crowded out the other: *atrium* gave way to *cors*; *cur* to *quare*; *equus* to *caballus*, R. 472; *ferre* to *portare*, Dubois 220; *ludus* to *jocus*; *magnus* to *grandis*; *os* to *bucca*, R. 472; *parentes* to *genitores*, Olcott XXV; *senex* to *vetulus*.

Sometimes the survivor was far from a synonym in Classic Latin: *discere* was displaced by *apprendere*; *domus* by *casa*, *mansio*, *hospitale*¹; *emere* by *comparare*; *humerus* by *spatula*, R. 324; *ignis* by *focus*, R. 313; *nunc* by *hora*; *omnes* by *toti*, R. 338; *quot, tot* by *quanti, tanti*, R. 336, 337; *urbs* by *civitas*, Dubois 209, and by *villa*, G. 272.

b. SUBSTITUTES.

13. Sometimes a term was replaced by a word not found in Classic Latin at all: *anser* was driven out by **auca* (< **avica*, diminutive of *avis*); *noverca* by **matraster*; *privignus* by **filiaster*; *vitricus* by *patraster*. Occasionally the substitute was apparently a slang word: *aliquis* yielded in part to *res nata*, R. 345; *caput* to *testa*²; *crus* gave way to *gamba*; *edere* in the main to *manducare*, Bechtel 140; *gena* to *gabata*.

Some words were replaced by diminutives, some nouns by derivative adjectives: *avis* by *aucellus*; *avus* by **aviolus*; *sol*

¹ According to Olcott XVIII, *casa* occurs only in Italian inscriptions, *mansio* (= 'dwelling') only in Roman. For *mansio*, cf. R. 472, Dubois 212. Among the Romance languages, Rumanian, Rætian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese prefer *casa*, French and Provençal *mansio* and *hospitale*. Cf. Zauner 41-42.

² *Caput* (or rather **capum*) is preserved by Rumanian, Rætian, Italian, Provençal, French; *testa* by Italian, Provençal, French; **capitia* (< *caput*) by Spanish and Portuguese. Cf. Zauner 41-42.

in part by **soliculus*; *vetus* for most part by *vetulus*; *dies* largely by *diurnus*, *Gl. Reich.*; *hiems* by *hibernum*, *R. 472*; *mane* by *matutinum*. Diminutives were extremely common in late Latin: *G. 121-130* (*cereolus*, *cuculla*, *schedula*, etc.), *Olcott 250-263* (*gemelli*, *mammula* = 'grandmother', *naucella*, *neptilla*, etc.), *Dubois 147* (*novellus*). Adjectives used as nouns were frequent also: *R. 100-107* (*arida*, *infernus*, etc.), *G. 108-121* (*brevis*, *credens*, *infernus*, etc.).

Occasionally, too, words were replaced by phrases: *diu* by *longum tempus* (*Bon. 201*, *paucum tempus* for *haud diu*); *ver* by *vernum tempus*, *Bon. 203*, and other phrases.

c. PARTICLES.

14. Many prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs were lost by substitution.

Ab was made unnecessary by *de* and *per*; *apud* was partially supplanted by *ad*; *cum*, in Gaul, yielded to *apud*; *ex* gave way to *de*, *R. 395-396*; *ob* to *pro* and *per*. *Pro*, doubtless under the influence of *per*, became **por*, which replaced *per* and *pro* in Spain and to a considerable extent in northern Gaul; southern Gaul, Italy, and Dacia preferred *per*. *Cis*, *erga*, *præ*, *propter* were displaced by other words.

The functions of *an*, *ne*, *utrum* were assumed by *si*; the place of *cum* was taken by *quando* and other conjunctions; *quando*, *quod*, *quoniam* were often replaced by *quomodo*, *R. 403*. *Autem*, *ergo*, *etiam*, *etsi*, *igitur*, *sed*, *tamen*, *ut* were ousted by various substitutes. Cf. *Densusianu, 184-185*.

4. WORDS USED IN VULGAR BUT NOT IN CLASSIC LATIN.

15. Vulgar Latin evidently had many words that do not appear in Classic texts. Some of these were probably old

native terms that do not happen to occur in the works preserved, some were late creations, some were borrowed from other languages.

a. NATIVE WORDS.

16. Some native words are rarely attested, although they were doubtless in common use: *amma*, *Archiv* XIII, 154; *atta*, *Archiv* XIII, 154; *baro* = 'athlete', Waters Ch. 53, Ch. 63; *battalia*, *Archiv* XII, 270-271; *branca*, Densusianu 196; *circare* = 'hunt', *Archiv* VIII, 186; *cloppus*, Densusianu 196; *drappus*, *Substrate* II, 106, Körting (found in the 7th century); *ficatum*, Densusianu 190; *gavia* (used by Pliny); *mamma*, *Archiv* XIII, 151-152; *nonna*, *nonnus*, *Archiv* XIII, 156-157; *pa(p)pa*, *Archiv* XIII, 158, Bayard 179 (applied by St. Cyprian to the bishop of Carthage); *pappus* = 'grandfather', Pirson 243; *serutinus*, Audollent 199; *tata*, *tatus*, Pirson 244, *Archiv* XIII, 151-153; *trepalium*, *Rom.* XVII, 421.

17. A few that must have existed are not attested at all: **refusare*, *Substrate* V, 234; **retina* = 'rein', *Substrate* V, 237; so not improbably the original of the Romance words meaning 'touch', and perhaps those of the words meaning 'find', 'gape', and 'go' (cf. § 405). Likewise words made by onomatopœa, as **miaulare*; cf. M. Grammont, *Onomatopées et mots expressifs* in *Revue des langues romanes* XLIV, 97.

Some of the unattested words were obviously late developments: **finis*, adj. (Fr., Pr. *fin*; It. *fine fino*), from the noun *finis* in such phrases as *honorum finis*, *pudoris finis*, etc. (so, e. g., *finis honoris* > *fins onors*, etc.), E. Herzog in *Bausteine* 484; **gentis*, adj. (Fr., Pr. *gent*, It. *gente*), apparently a cross between *genitus* and *gentilis*; *prode*, then m. and f. **prodis*, adj., detached from *prodest* (cf. *potis est* = *potest*, Neue II, 176-177), R. 468-469 (*quid enim prode est homini, sed non fuit prode illis, hoc enim prode fit vobis*, etc.).

18. Late Latin was rich in derivatives, some of popular creation, some made by Christian writers. According to Olcott XIX, African Latin was freest in word formation. This subject will be discussed at length in the following chapter, but a few examples may be given here: post-verbal *dolus* < *dolere*, Regnier VIII; **abbellire*; **ausare*; *carricare*, *Gl. Reich.*; *confessor* = 'martyr'; **coraticum*; *dulcor*, **dulcior* = 'sweetness'; *folliā*; **man(u)aria*; *modernus*, Dubois 144; **nivicare*; **soliculus*; *vict(u)alia*; **vir(i)dura*.

b. FOREIGN WORDS.

19. A few Celtic terms were adopted, such as *alauda*, *vertragus*. More Germanic words (cf. *Gram.*, Introduction) found their way into Latin: *bannus*, Bon. 226; *hapja*; *haribergum*, *Gl. Reich.* (cf. *alberca*, Pirson 236); *haunjan*; *watan*; *wërra*.

We find a large number of Greek words, a few of them apparently borrowed by popular speech: *amygdalum*; *cata*, a distributive preposition, verging on the sense of 'every', R. 247 (*cata mane mane*), Bechtel 95 (*cata mansiones*, *cata pascha*), cf. § 71; *colaphus*; *dactylus*, Bon. 211; *sagma*. More came in through the Christian vocabulary: *angelus*; *baptizare*; *blasphemare*; etc. Some were introduced by fashionable society, which affected familiarity with Greek; there are many Greek words in Petronius: *hepatia*, Waters Ch. 66; *schema*, Waters Ch. 44.

Very many Greek terms used by ecclesiastical writers never became popular. Cf. G. 205–226: *anathema*, *prophetare*, *zelare*; numerous verbs in *-izare*, as *allegorizare*, *anathematizare*, *catechizare*, *colaphizare*, *evangelizare*, *eunuchizare*, *Judaizare*, *prophetizare*, *sabbatizare*, *scandalizare*, *thesaurizare*; and not a few new derivatives, as *baptizatio*, *diaconissa*, G. 225, 224.

B. DERIVATION.

20. Vulgar Latin is very rich in derivatives and compounds; it has many affectionate diminutives, some of them made with new suffixes (as *-icca*, *-itta*).¹ Petronius shows a fondness for long derivatives, such as *gaudimonium* (Waters Ch. 61). Late writings almost all abound in abstract nouns (Cooper 1-2). In strictly Classic texts there appear to be no really living suffixes²; but the facility of word formation, which the literary language lost, popular speech preserved and increased.³ This freedom of formation was abused by African authors, who were especially addicted to prepositional compounds with *con-*, *in-*, *sub-*, etc.⁴ We shall consider first post-verbal nouns (i.e., substantives taken from the roots of verbs), then prefixes, next suffixes, and finally composite words.

1. POST-VERBAL NOUNS.

21. After the model of *cantus* — *cantare*, *saltus* — *saltare*, etc. (pairs in which the noun seems to come from the derivative verb, whereas in reality both come from a primitive verb, as *canere*, *salire*), a fictitious primitive noun was derived from a number of verbs in Vulgar Latin and in the Romance languages: so *dolus* from *dolere*, *Vok.* I, 35, 98, *Bon.* 367, *Regnier* VII (blamed by St. Augustine).

2. PREFIXES.⁵

a. PREFIXES USED WITH NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, AND PRONOUNS.

22. *Bis-* or *bi-* was used with some adjectives and apparently with a few nouns: *bimaritus*, G. 130; *bisacutus*, G. 170; *bisaccium*, Petronius.

¹ See *Gram.* II, 430-693; *Densusianu* 156-173.

² Cooper XXXIV.

³ Cooper XXX ff.

⁴ Cooper XXXVI, XLVI, 246-247.

⁵ Cooper 246-297.

23. *Ad-*, *con-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *ex-*, *in-*, *re-* and some others were occasionally used to form adjectives: **adaptus*; *commixtus*, G. 160; *defamatus*; **disfactus*; *exsūcus*; *inanimatus*; **replēnus*. Cf. G. 160 ff.

24. *Ac-*, *atque-*, *ecce-*, *eccu-*, *met-* were used as demonstrative prefixes to pronominal adjectives and to adverbs. *Eccu-* is *eccum*, i.e., *ecce eum*; its origin being forgotten, it was used in late Vulgar Latin as a synonym of *ecce*. *Met-*, primarily a suffix, came to be used as a prefix through such combinations as *semet ipsum*, understood as *se metipsum*. In archaic writings such reinforced demonstratives as *eccum*, *eccam*, *eccos*, *eccas*, *ecca*, *eccillum*, *eccillam*, *eccillud*, *eccistam* are not uncommon; in Classic texts they are rare. Vulgar Latin examples are: *ac sic*; *atque ille*; *ecce hic*; **eccu iste*; **eccu sic*, *Substrate* VI, 385; *met ipse*. Cf. A. Köhler, *Die Partikel ecce in Archiv* V, 16. See §§ 65, 66.

b. PREFIXES USED WITH VERBS.

25. *Ad-*, *con-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *ex-*, *in-*, *re-* were freely used, *dis-* being mainly a Vulgar Latin prefix: *abbreviare*, G. 179; **adcap(i)tare*; *adgenuculari*, R. 181; *adpretiare*, R. 181, G. 180; *adpropiare*, R. 181, G. 180; *adunare*, R. 182; *confortare*, R. 185, G. 181; **cominitiare*; *complacere*, R. 184; *deaurare*, G. 182; **disjejunare*; *exaltare*, G. 183; *excoriare*, G. 182; *impinguare*, G. 183; **infurcare*; *recapitulare*, G. 185; **requærere*. *Ad-*, *con-*, *de-* lost their special significance; *ad-* was particularly favored in Spain, *con-* in Italy. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 487. Occasionally there was a change of prefix: *aspectare* was used with the sense of *expectare*, **convitare* sometimes took the place of *invitare*; *dis-* was often substituted for *ex-*.

26. *Ab-*, *contra-*, *per-*, *sub-*, *super supra-*, *tra trans-* were

used occasionally: **aboculare*; **contrafacere*; **perdonare*; *sub-audire*, G. 185; **subcludere*; *subsannare*, R. 199, G. 187; *superabundare*, G. 187; **super*—**suprafacere*; **trabucare*; **transannare*; *transplantare*, G. 188.

27. *Extra*— was sometimes used in Italy and Dacia, *infra*— and *intra*— in Italy: **extrabuccare*; **infraponere*; **intratenere*.

28. *Abs*—, *e*—, *ob*—, *præ*—, *pre*—, *pro*—, *retro*— were apparently not used to form new verbs in the popular spoken language, although some of them are occasionally so employed by late writers: *opprobare*, G. 184; *prædestinare*, G. 184 (cf. Livy); *prolongare*, G. 184. *Ob*— is sometimes replaced by *ad*—: *obdormire* > *addormire*.

29. *Foris* and *minus* came to be used as prefixes in some regions: **forisfacere*; **minuscredere*. *Foris* was confounded in Gaul with the Frankish *fir*— (= *ver*—): *verslahen* = Old Fr. *forbatre*. See G. Baist, *Fränkisches fir*— im ältesten Französischen in *Romanische Forschungen* XII, 650; cf. *Rom.* XXX, 633. For this use of *minus*, compare the phrase *minus est* = *deest*, Regnier 109: *caritas in quantum adest . . . in quantum autem minus est*. Cf. § 245.

30. Some verbs take a double prefix: *adimplere*; *coexcitare*, R. 207 (cf. Quintilian, *coexercitatus*); *deexacerbare*, R. 207; **deexcitare*; **exeligere*.

31. Recomposition, i.e., the restoration of the full form of the primitive verb, was a regular process in Vulgar Latin (cf. § 139): *aspargo* for *aspergo* is blamed by Velius Longus, Édon 127, and is used by St. Cyprian, Bayard 3; *commando* is, according to Velius Longus, the usual form, rather than *commendo*, S. 60, Édon 131; *consacrati* etc. occur in inscriptions, S. 60; *crededit*, Bon. 490; *reddedit*, Bon. 490; *retenere*, Bon. 489;

tradedit, Bon. 490. Cf. S. 58-64, Bon. 486-493. *Cómpūto*, *cólligo*, *cóllōco*, *cónsto*, *cónsũo*, *érigo*, *éxco*, *ínflo*, *prásto* seem to have been regarded as simple verbs: S. 64.

32. Late writers were in the habit of restoring the full, primitive form of prefixes; but this was doubtless merely a matter of spelling, and did not indicate the common pronunciation. In Tertullian, Cyprian, and some others there is generally no assimilation of the prefix; other writers, such as Gregory of Tours, apparently used both assimilated and unassimilated forms. Bayard 12-15: *adpetere*, *conpendium*, *inprobus*, *obfero*, *subplanto*. Bon. 178-188: *adtonitus*, *conmittere*, *inlatus*, *obprimere*, *subcumbere*.

3. SUFFIXES.

a. SUFFIXES FOR VERBS.¹

33. Verbs from nouns² generally end in *-are*; occasionally in *-iare* or *-ire*; sometimes in *-icare*, which was eventually supplanted in Italy and in Gaul by *-izare* (for pronunciation see § 339). This last ending came from Greek *-ίζειν* through borrowed words, such as *baptizare*. For a list of Greek verbs in *-ίζειν* adopted by Christian writers, see R. 248-249 (cf. § 19 above); some new formations were used, as *catechizare*. In early Latin this same ending appears as *-issare* (*atticisso*, *rhetorisso*): see A. Funck, *Die Verba auf issare und izare in Archiv III*, 398.

Examples: *oculare*; *pectinare*; *plantare*; *potionare*; **trepariare*; — *plagiare*; — *ignire*; — *carricare*; *follicare*; **nivicare*; — **dom'nizare*; **werrizare*.

¹Cf. Cooper 205-245, Dubois 151-162, Quillacq 41-46, Bonnet 471-474.

²Cf. R. 154-162.

34. Verbs from adjectives and perfect participles end in *-are*, *-iare*, *-ire*; also in *-icare* (cf. *albicare*), *-itare* (cf. *debilitare*, *visitare*), *-ēscere* and *-īscere* (cf. *canescere*, *mollescere*); possibly in *-izare*: *angustare*; **ausare*; *captivare*; *confortare*; *falsare*; *gravare*; *levare*; **oblītare*; *rūtare*; *ūsare*; — *alleviare*; **altiare*; **captiare*; *humiliare*; — **abbellire*; *unire*; — *amari-care*; — **vanitare*; — *fortescere*; *lætiscere*; *vilesce-re*; — **blan-kizare*?

Many verbs from perfect participles (frequentatives, etc.) replace the original verbs: *adjuvare* > *adjutare*; *audere* > *ausare*; *canere* > *cantare*; *uti* > *usare*. The endings *-(i)tare*, *-escere* lost their frequentative or inchoative sense: *adparescere*, Dubois 157; *ostentare*, Dubois 156.

35. Verbs from other verbs end in *-icare* (cf. *fodicare* < *fodere*), *-itare* (cf. *clamitare* < *clamare*); also in *-ēscere*, *-īscere* (cf. *florescere*, *dormiscere*), which lost its inchoative force: **bullicare* < *bullere*; — *crocitare*; — *apparescere*; **finiscere*; *stupescere*. Vulgar Latin has many old frequentive verbs: G. 178–179, Cooper 205. There are some late diminutives in *-aculare*, *-īculare*, *-ūculare*, through diminutive nouns or adjectives (cf. *periculari* < *periculum*): **salticulare*. We find also some miscellaneous imitative formations: **expaventare* (and some others) apparently after the analogy of *præsentare*; **misculare* perhaps after *maculare*.

36. Greek verbs in *-âv*, *-ειν*, etc., when taken into Latin, regularly end in *-are*: *κυβερνᾶν* > *gubernare*; *βλασφημεῖν* > *blasphemare*. Cf. Claussen 795. But *ψάλλειν* > *psallere*, perhaps through the analogy of *fallere*: Claussen 796.

Germanic verbs in *-an* or *-on* regularly passed into the first conjugation in Latin: *wītan* > It. *guidare*; *roubôn* > It. *rubare*. Those in *-jan* went into the fourth: *hatjan* > *hatire*, Gl. Reich.; *warnjan* > It. *guarnire*.

b. SUFFIXES FOR NOUNS.¹

37. Some 90 endings, apparently, were used in Vulgar Latin. The Christian writers are especially rich in derivatives. Petronius, too, was very fond of diminutives: *adulescentulus*, Waters Ch. 59, Ch. 64; *porcellus*, Ch. 40; *taurellus*, Ch. 39.

The commonest endings are the following: —

—*a*, used to form feminines: *nepta*, Pirson 123, Bon. 366, Haag 41; *socera*, Bon. 355.

—*āgo*, —*īgo*, —*ūgo* were characteristic of rustic speech: Cooper 111.

—*al*, —*āle*, used to form adjectives and also nouns, especially names of parts of apparel (as *bracchiale*), was extended: *coxale*, G. 95. Cf. Olcott 238–239.

✓ —*alia*, a neuter plural, as *victualia* (cf. the collective plural —*ilia*, as *mirabilia*, *volatilia*, G. 110–111), was used, in a collective sense, as a feminine singular with an augmentative and pejorative signification, in Italy and Gaul: **canalia* < *canis*.

—*anda*, —*enda*, neuter plural of the gerundive, came to be used as a feminine singular: **facienda*.

—*ans*, —*ens*: see Adjectives.

—*antia*, —*entia*, made from present participles + —*ia* (as *benevolentia*, *essentia*, *significantia*), were used to form abstract nouns from verbs: **credentia*; *fragrantia*; *placencia*; **sperantia*. Cf. R. 49–52, G. 79–102, Olcott 73–78.

—*ānus*: see Adjectives.

—*ar*, —*āre*, for nouns and adjectives: *liminare*, G. 95; **pollicare*. Cf. Olcott 187–189.

—*aria*: see —*ia*.

—*arium*, used to designate a place (as *gallinarium*), was extended: *breviarium*; **calamarium*. Cf. R. 31–37, Olcott 176–182.

—*arius*: see Adjectives.

—*ata*: see —*ta*, etc.

—*aticum* (as *viaticum*) was extended, to form nouns from nouns: **coraticum*.

—*ātus*, as *senatus* (common in Petronius, e. g., *bonatus*, Waters Ch. 74), was extended: *clericatus*; **ducatus*. Cf. —*ta*, etc.

¹ Cf. Cooper 1–91, Dubois 99–136, Quillacq 15–31, Bon. 453–463.

-cellus, diminutive, was used beside -culus: *avicula*, *avicella*; *navicula*, *navicella*. So **domnicellus*, etc.

-ceus, -cius: see Adjectives.

-culum, -crum (as *miraculum*, *lavacrum*) were occasionally used: **genuculum*. Cf. G. 91-92, Olcott 131-134.

-ellus, diminutive (as *castellum*), was often used beside -ŭlus, which lost its diminutive force: *anulus*, *anellus*; *porculus*, *porcellus*; *vitulus*, *vitellus*. So *calamellus*, etc.

-enda: see -anda.

-ens: see Adjectives, -ans.

-ensis: see Adjectives.

-entia: see -antia.

-ĕrium, as *desiderium*, was probably somewhat extended: Old Fr., Pr. *consirier*, etc. Cf. R. 31-37. See A. Thomas, *Les substantifs en -ier et le suffixe -arius*, *Rom.* XXXI, 481; and *Nouveaux essais de philologie française* 110.

-eum: see -ium.

-eus: see Adjectives.

-ia, unaccented, used to form abstract nouns (as *victoria*), was extended: **fortia* (cf. *fortia* n. pl. = 'mighty deeds of God', Koffmane 76).

-ia, unaccented, used to form feminines (as *avus*, *avia*): *neptia*, Pirson 123.

-ĭa, from Greek -la through Christian writers and speakers: *monarchia*; *philosophia*; etc. It was often attached to words in -arius; hence an ending -aria: **libraria*. Cf. Olcott 173-176.

-ĭca: see *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* CXIV, 457.

-ĭcca (as *Bodicca*, *Bonica*, *Karica*) first appears in Africa in feminine proper names; it was then extended to Spain, Sardinia, and Dacia, and came to be used as a diminutive suffix in Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian: Sp. *animalico*; Rum. *manică*. It may have arisen in the first place from a childish pronunciation of -ĭclus, -ĭcla, being used in pet names. Cf. *Einf.* § 173. For -accus, -iccus, -occus, -uc(c)us, see A. Hornig in *Zs.* XIX, 170, XX, 335; cf. *Gram.* II, 591.

-ĭceus, -ĭcius: see Adjectives, -ceus.

-incus or -inquus (as *propinquus*), perhaps also *-ingus and locally -ancus, possibly of Ligurian origin (*Rom.* XXXV, 1-21, 283ff., 333ff.), was used for many new words: Pr. *Arbonenca*, *ramenc*; It. *solingo*, *Valinca*;

Sp. *Cusanca*. It was probably confounded, in some regions, with the following.

-*ing*, a German patronymic ending, was used for some nouns and perhaps for adjectives (see -*incus* above): Pr. *lausenga*; It. *camerlingo*.

-*inus* (as *caninus*, *Montaninus*) originally denoted appurtenance, then resemblance, then smallness; it was freely used, especially to form diminutive nouns, but sometimes to form new adjectives: *domnina* = 'young lady', Olcott 134-136; *Florentinus*; *serpentinus*. Cf. Olcott 200-204.

-*io*: see -*tio*.

-*issa*, from the Greek -*ισσα* (as *βασιλισσα*, so *pythonissa*), was used for some new formations: **dukissa*; *Germanissa*, Pirson 228; *prophetissa*, R. 251. Cf. Cooper 251.

-*itas*: see -*tas*.

-*itia*, -*ities*, used to form nouns from adjectives (as *munditia* -*ies*), were much extended, -*ities* especially in the south; both are rare in Rumanian (Cooper XLV): **altitia*; **granditia*. Cf. Olcott 78-80.

-*ittus* first appears during the Empire in inscriptions in Italy and Dacia, sometimes in Spain and Gaul, as a suffix for proper names: feminine *Attitta*, *Bonitta*, *Caritta*, *Julitta*, *Livitta*, *Suavitta*, etc.; masculine *Muritta*, *Nebitta*, *Sagitta*, etc. Cf. Pirson 226: *Julianeta*, *Nonnita*, *Nonnitus*. Its origin is unknown; it may have arisen from a childish pronunciation of -*iclus* -*a*: cf. -*icca*. Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.* § 172, conjectures that it may have come from the Germanic ending that now appears as *z* in such names as *Heinz*. A. Zimmermann, *Zs.* XXVIII, 343, regards -*ättus*, -*ittus*, -*öttus* as alternative forms of -*ātus*, -*ītus*, -*ōtus*, like *littera* beside *lītera*, etc. It came to be very widely used as a diminutive suffix for nouns, and also for adjectives, the *i* being short in Gaul, Rætia, and central and northern Italy, generally long in the Spanish peninsula and in Sardinia: nouns, Fr. *amourette*, It. *fioretto*, Sp. *bacito*; adjectives, Fr. *doucet*, It. *grassetto*, Sp. *bonito*.

-*itūdo*: see -*tūdo*.

-*ium*, -*eum* (as *capitium*, *calcaneum*): see G. 56-59.

-*ivum*, -*iva*: see Olcott 224-226.

-*men*, -*mentum*, used to form nouns from verbs (as *certāmen*, *vestimentum*), were extended, especially -*mentum*: **gubernamentum*. Cf. Olcott 123-131, R. 22-25.

-*mōnium*, -*mōnia*: see Olcott 81-82.

-*o* (-*ōnem*), originally used to indicate a characteristic (as *bībo*), was

commonly employed as an augmentative or pejorative, in Gaul often as a diminutive: *gūlo*; It. *boccone*; Fr. *aiglon*. See *Archiv* V, 56, 223, XIII, 222, 415, 475. Cf. Olcott 83-87, G. 44-45.

-or (-ōrem), used to form abstract nouns (as *candor*, *sapor*), was employed for many new formations of the same kind, especially in Gaul: *dulcor*; **flator*; **flavor*; **lūcor*; **sentor*; *viror*. In Gaul these nouns came to be feminine: Bon. 503-504 (*dolor*, *timor*, etc.).

-or (-ōrem), used to designate the agent: see -tor.

-ōrium; see -tōrium.

-ōttus, of unknown origin (cf. -ittus), was apparently used first of young animals, then as a general moderate diminutive: It. *aquilotto*, *casotta*.

-sa: see -ta, etc.

-sio: see -tio.

-sor: see -tor.

-sōrium: see -tōrium.

-sūra: see -ūra.

-sus: see -ta, etc.

-ta, -tus, -sa, -sus, later -dta, -dtus, -uta, perfect participles used as nouns, started perhaps with such forms as *defensa*, *remissa*, i. e., feminine perfect participles with a feminine noun understood, and were reinforced by fourth declension nouns in -tus, as *collectus*, *narratus*: cf. C. Collin in *Archiv* XIII, 453. They were considerably used to make abstract nouns from verbs (and -ata was sometimes attached to nouns, as **annata*); -tus and -sus were preferred in Dacia (Cooper XLV): *collecta*, G. 111; **debīta*; *extensa*, R. 83; **movīta*, *Substrate* IV, 122; **perdīta*; *recubītus*; **reddīta*; **vendīta*; It. *andata*, *fossato*, *venuta*. Cf. Olcott 33-51, R. 82-83, G. 85-88, Bayard 24-25.

-tas (-tātem), used to make abstract nouns from adjectives, was freely employed: *falsītas*; *nativītas*; *purītas*; *trinītas*. So *deītas* from *deus*. Cf. Olcott 58-69, G. 102-106, Bayard 19-22 (very common in St. Cyprian).

-tio, -sio (-tīōnem, -sīōnem), used to form abstract nouns from verbs (as *lectio*, *mansio*, *potio*), are very common in St. Jerome, St. Cyprian, and other late writers: *abbreviatio*; *aggravatio*, G. 63; **nutritio*; *ostensio*; *prensio*; *revolutio*. Cf. Olcott 2-23, R. 69-82, Bayard 19-22.

-tor, -trix, -sor (-tōrem, -trīcem, -sōrem), used to denote the agent (as *amātor*, *ensor*), were very freely employed (but show few traces in Rumanian: Cooper XLV): *necātor*; *ostensor*; Pr. *beveire*, *trobair*. Cf. Olcott 88-122, R. 55-63, G. 45-56.

-tōrium, -sōrium, used to form from verbs nouns denoting place, some-

times instrument (as *dormitorium*, *natatorium*, *cursorium*), were much extended, often taking the place of *-culum* (*cubiculum* > *accubitorium*): **cæsorium*; **ensorium*; **missorium*; *oratorium*; **pressorium*; *repositorium*. Cf. Olcott 194-196, R. 31-37, G. 96-97.

-*tūdo* (-*tūdinem*), used to make abstract nouns from adjectives (as *fortitudo*), was extended: **certitudo*; *servitudo*. Cf. Olcott 69-73.

-*tūra*: see -*ūra*.

-*tus*: see -*ta*, etc.

-*ūlus*, -*ūla*, diminutive (as *vitulus*), was used for a few new formations: **alaudula*; *ossulum*, Bon. 197.

-*ūra* and -*t-ūra*, -*s-ūra*, used to form abstract nouns from perfect participles (as *censura*, *strictura*), later from adjectives also, were extended, in late Latin often replacing -*or* (*fervor* > **fervura*): **frig'dura*; *mesura*; *nutritura*; *ornatura*; **planura*; *pressura*; *tensura*; **vir'dura*. See *Einf.* § 171. Cf. Olcott 51-58, R. 40-45, G. 88-90.

-*ūta*: see -*ta*, etc.

38. When Greek nouns were borrowed by Latin, the endings were adapted as follows: —

-*os*, -*η*, -*ον* regularly became respectively -*us*, -*a*, -*um*: Claussen 796. There are a few exceptions for special reasons (Claussen 795): *ἐλαιον*, influenced by *olere*, gave *oleum*; *μηλόφυλλον*, by popular etymology, gave *millefolium*.

-*as* in popular words generally became -*a* (Claussen 798-799): *λαμπάς* > *lampa*.

-*ης*, -*της* became -*a*, -*ta* or -*us*, -*tus* (Claussen 798): *τρώκτης* > *tracta*; *βολίτης* > *boletus*.

-*ι* in popular words either fell or became -*a*, -*e*, -*is*, or -*i* (Claussen 799): *πέπερι* > *piper*; *σίναπι* > *sinapis*, *sinape*; *κόμμι* > *gumma*, *gummi-s*.

-*is* often became -*a*, instead of -*is* (Claussen 798): *παυσις* > *pausa*.

-*μα* in popular words gave a feminine -*ma* (Claussen 796-797): *κύμα* > *cima*.

-*πος* preceded by a consonant became -*er* (Claussen 797): *Ἀλέξανδρος* > *Alexander*.

-*ων* in popular words became -*o* (Claussen 797): *λέων* > *leo*.

Sometimes the genitive or the accusative was taken as a basis, instead of the nominative (Claussen 800-802): *ἐλέφαντος* > *elephantus*; *μαγίδα* > *magida*.

The unaccented vowel of the penult was often changed in conformity with Latin habits (Claussen 802-806): διάβολος > *diabolus diabolus*; κέρασος > *cerāsus* **cerēsus*; κίθαρα > *cithāra cithēra*; σκόπελος > *scopulus*; σπατάλη > *spatula*.

c. SUFFIXES FOR ADJECTIVES.¹

39. The commonest endings are the following: —

—*abilis*: see —*bilis*.

—*aceus* —*acius*, —*iceus* —*icius*, used to make from nouns adjectives denoting material (as *arenaceus*, *pelliceus*), were extended (especially in rustic speech: Cooper 111), —*aceus* being employed later as an augmentative and pejorative suffix for adjectives and finally for nouns: *chartaceus*; *formaceus*; *mixticius*, G. 143; **setaceus*; It. *tempaccio*, etc. Cf. Olcott 215-220. See E. Wölfflin, *Die Adjectiva auf -icius* in *Archiv* V, 415.

—*ālis*, —*īlis*, used to make from nouns adjectives of appurtenance (as *regalis*, *gentilis*), were extended: **cortilis*; **ducalis*; *episcopalis*. Cf. Olcott 226-238, G. 144.

—*āneus* —*ānius*, —*ōneus* —*ōnius* (as *extraneus*, *erroneus*) were slightly extended: **caroneus*; *spontaneus*.

—*ans*, —*ens* (—*antem*, —*entem*), present participles (as *amans*, *potens*), were used freely to make adjectives and nouns from verbs: *credens*; **currens*; **passans*.

—*ānus*, denoting appurtenance (as *paganus*, *Romanus*), was used to form adjectives of place (occasionally time) and nouns of office: *biduanus*, Bechtel 83; *medianus*, Bechtel 83; **Sicilianus*; *Tuscanus*; — **capitanus*; *decanus*.

—*arīcius*, a combination of —*arius* and —*icius* (as *sigillaricius*), became popular in Gaul: see A. Thomas, *Nouveaux essais de philologie française* 62 (*Hacherece*, etc.).

—*āris* (as *singularis*) was extended: *particularis*. Cf. Olcott 182-187.

—*arius*, attached to nouns and adjectives, to denote connection, and used also in the masculine to form nouns of occupation (as *aquarius*, *argentarius*, *pomarius*), was much extended, especially in the latter function: *imaginaris*; **leviarius*; — *apothecarius*; **marinarius*; **werrarius*. Cf. Olcott 137-173. The phonetic development of this suffix was apparently peculiar in Gaul and some other regions: the earliest examples are *glan-*

¹ Cf. Cooper 92-163 (diminutives, 164-195), Quillacq 32-40, Dubois 136-151, Bon. 464-467.

deria < *glandarius* + *-ia* (6th century) and *sorcerus* < **sortiarius* (8th century); the earliest forms in French and Provençal are *-ers*, *-er*, then *-iers*, *-ier*. On the other hand, Spanish *-ero* and Italian *-aio* are perfectly regular, Italian *-aro* is easily explained by the analogy of the plural *-ari*, and Italian *-iere*, *-iero* are probably borrowed. E. R. Zimmermann, *Die Geschichte des lateinischen Suffixes -arius in den romanischen Sprachen*, and E. Staaff, *Le suffixe -arius dans les langues romanes*, try to derive all the forms from *-arius*. P. Marchot, *Zs. XXI*, 296 (cf. *Phon.* I, 34-36), postulates *-ar(i)us* and *-er(i)us*, showing that while the French forms may perhaps be derived from *-arius* and *-iarius*, the Provençal cannot. Cf. *Gram.* I, 222, § 227. Zimmermann, *Zs. XXVI*, 591, points out that many words have *c*, *e*, or *i* before the *a*, that *-iarius* was a real suffix (cf. *antiarius*, Olcott 142), that *-iarius* and *-carius* may have established *-iers* in French. A. Thomas, *Rom. XXXI*, 481 (cf. *Nouveaux essais de philologie française* 119, and *Bausteine* 641), suggests that the Germans in Gaul associated *-arius* with their proper names in *-areis* or *-ari*, and when *umlaut* affected the *a* of these, pronounced *-arius*, too, as *-erius* or *-erus*, and that this pronunciation spread to the neo-Latin speakers. Cf. *Chairibertus* repeatedly used for *Charibertus* by Fredegarius: Haag 7.

-ātus, a perfect participle ending (as *sceleratus*), was much used to make adjectives in the popular language: *exauguratus*; **fatatus*; *timoratus*. Cf. Olcott 244-250, G. 159-160.

-bīlis, or *-ābīlis*, *-ībīlis*, an objective suffix used to make adjectives from verbs (as *amabilis*, *terribilis*), is very common in Christian writers and was much employed in late Latin, especially in learned words; it is rare, however, in Rumanian (Cooper XLV): *acceptabilis*; *capabilis*; **caritabilis*; *diligibilis*; *indicibilis*, G. 137. Cf. Olcott 209-213, R. 109-116, G. 135-140.

-ceus -cius: see *-āceus*.

-ens: see *-ans*.

-ensis, used to make from nouns adjectives of appurtenance (as *forensis*), was greatly extended, especially in popular speech, the derivatives being sometimes employed as nouns: **cortensis*; **Frankensis*; *turrensis*, G. 155; *vallensis*, G. 155; — **markensis*; **pagensis*.

-eus -ius, denoting material (as *aureus*), was slightly extended (but is rare in Rumanian: Cooper XLV); the derivative was sometimes used as a noun: *panneus*; *papyrius*; — *fageus*; *quercus*. Cf. Olcott 339-344.

-ībīlis: see *-bīlis*.

-īceus -īcius: see *āceus*.

-*icus* (as *medicus*) was used especially in words from the Greek: *clericus*. Cf. Olcott 220-223.

-*idus* (as *rapidus*) was slightly extended: *exsūcidus*, G. 155 (Tertullian); **rīpidus*; *sapidus*.

-*ilis*: see -*ālis*.

-*inus*: see Nouns.

-*inus* (as *fraxinus*) was used for a few adjectives: *quercinus*.

-*iscus*, probably a fusion of Greek -*iskos* (*Syriscus*) and Germanic -*isk* (*Thiudiscus*), was used for -*icus* in some late words: **Angliscus*; **Frankiscus*.

-*ittus*: see Nouns.

-*ius*: see -*eus*.

-*ivus* (as *nativus*) occurs in a few new formations: **restivus*. Cf. Olcott 224-226.

-*ōneus*: see -*āneus*.

-*ōrius*: see -*tōrius*.

-*sōrius*: see -*tōrius*.

-*tōrius*, -*sōrius*, made up of -*t-or*, -*s-or* + -*ius* (as *notare notor notorius*, *censēre censor censorius*), were used for some new formations: *defensorius*; *mansorius*. In Provençal and Rumanian -*tōrius* was extended, with the sense of -*bilis* or of the gerundive: Pr. *punidor*; Rum. *jurătorii*, Tiktin 597.

-*ulus*, diminutive (as *albulus*), was a favorite with Christian writers; *promptulus*, G. 158. Cf. G. 157-158.

-*undus* (as *jocundus*) was used in Spanish and Provençal for a few words: Pr. *volon*.

-*utus* (as *canutus*) was somewhat extended: **carnutus*.

d. SUFFIXES FOR ADVERBS.¹

40. The usual endings are as follows: —

-*ce* -*c* (as *ne nec*, *num nunc*, *tum tunc*) was apparently used to form *dunc* (C. I. L. IX, 4810, etc.) = *dum* + *ce* (cf. *Franz. 2* I, 10); Pirson 252 cites eight examples of *dunc*, one of them from Gaul. Cf. *dōnique* in *Substrate* II, 103-106. Possibly **anc* is derived from *an* in the same way: cf. *Archiv* I, 241; *Gram.* III, 552.

-*e* is very common in St. Jerome: G. 193-197 (*angelice*, etc.). It was

¹ Cf. Cooper 196-204, Dubois 163-171, Bon. 467-470.

preserved in popular speech in *bene, longe, male, pure, tarde*, and occurs also in *Romanice*, whence such formations as *Brittanice, Normannice*, etc.

-iter: see *-ter*.

-o and *-um* generally coincided in pronunciation (*multum* = *multo*, etc.). They are rare in St. Jerome, but common in other late writers: *clanculo, multum, rato*, etc. Many such adverbs were preserved in common speech, as It. *alto, basso, caldo, chiaro, piano, poco*; hence other adjectives came to be used as adverbs (as It. *forte, soave*), and in Rumanian nearly all adjectives may be so used (as *greii, noui*).

-ter (as *breviter*) was not preserved in common speech, though much used in ecclesiastical Latin (G. 197-201: *infantiliter*, etc.), being especially common in St. Cyprian (Bayard 32-34).

-tim was favored by St. Cyprian (Bayard 34-35) and some other writers, but was not kept alive in popular Latin.

Some adverbial phrases on the model *ad...-ones* (in Italy also without the preposition) came into use: It. *a ginocchioni, bocconi*; Fr. *à reculons*. Cf. *Gram.* II, 689; *Rom.* XXXIII, 230; *Zs.* XXIX, 245, XXX, 337, 339.

Repetition was used, as sometimes in Classic Latin, for emphatic effect. Many examples are to be found in Petronius: *modo modo* = 'only yesterday,' Waters Ch. 37, Ch. 42, Ch. 46; *modo sic modo sic* = 'now so, now so,' Ch. 45; cf. *nec sursum nec deorsum non cresco*, Ch. 58. Cf. § 55.

41. Adverbs of manner came to be made with the ablative *mente*. This noun was first used with an adjective to denote a state of mind, as *forti mente, obstinata mente, jocunda mente, firma mente*. Then it was employed in a more general sense: *pari mente*, G. 428; **bona mente*; **ipsa mente*; **mala mente*. Later, perhaps after the Vulgar Latin period, *mente* was used with any adjective that could make an adverb of manner; **longa mente*; *sola mente*, *Gl. Reich*. This formation is not common, however, in Rumanian: *Lat. Spr.* 487. In the Romance languages *mente* was sometimes added to adverbs: Fr. *comment*; It. *insieme mente*.

e. CHANGE OF SUFFIX.

42. The popular language sometimes substitutes one suffix for another, as *manuplus* for *manipulus*. The principal types are: —

(1) Substitution of a new or common suffix for an old or rare one: —

—*cillus* > —*cëllus*: see —*illus*.

—*cilus* > *cëllus*: see —*ilus*.

—*elus* > —*ëllus* (common in late Latin): *camëlus* > *camëllus*, Cohn 213-216, R. 460; *loquëla* > *loquëlla*, Corssen I, 227, R. 460; *querëla* > *querëlla*, S. 131, R. 321, 460; *suadëla* > *suadëlla*, R. 460. Cf. Caper (Keil VII, 96): "*querela, loquela per unum l.*"

—*ënus* > —*inus*: "*Byzacenus non Byzacinus*," *App. Pr.*; *venënum* > **venënum*. Cf. Cohn 219-226.

—*ex*(—*ecem*) > —*ix*(—*icem*): *vervëcem* > *berbëcem*. Cf. Cohn 41-42.

—*illus* > —*ëllus*: *axëlla* > *ascëlla*, etc. Cf. Cohn 42-52.

—*or*(—*orem*) > —*ura*: *calor* > **calura*; *pavor* > **pavura*; *rancor* > **rancura*, etc. Cf. Cohn 172-180.

—*illus* > —*ëllus*: *anëllus* > *anëllus*; *avicëlla* > *avicëlla*, etc. Cf. Cohn 17-28.

—*ius* > —*itus*: *vacuus* > **vöcëtus* (cf. § 195).

(2) Indiscriminate use of two suffixes: —

—*anus* = —*äneus*: *extraneus* **extranus*; *subterraneus* **subterrānus*. Cf. Cohn 160-172.

—*atus* = —*itus* = —*ütus*: *barbatus* **barbutus*; *carnatus* **carnutus*; *caudatus* *cauditus*, Cohn 184; *lanatus* *lanutus*, Cohn 184. Cf. Cohn 180-205.

—*iceus* —*icius* = —*iceus* —*icius*: *ericius* **erëcius*. Cohn 30-31.

—*iculus* = —*iculus*: *capitulus* **capitulus*; *cornicula* **cornëcula*; *lenticula* **lenticula*. Cf. Cohn 151-154.

—*iculus* = —*iculus*: *ossiculus* *ossiculus*, Waters Ch. 65; *pediculus* *pediculus*.

—*ilius* = —*ilius*: *consilium* **consilium*; *familia* **famëlia*. Cf. Cohn 154-160.

—*ix*(—*icem*) = —*ix*(—*icem*): *sörice* **sörice*. Cf. Cohn 147-151.

(3) Alteration of a suffix: —

—*arius*: see Suffixes for Adjectives, —*arius*. Cf. Cohn 274-291.

-ēnus > -īnus through late pronunciation of Greek η as ī: σαγήνη > *saginæ* (*Vok.* III, 121: 7th century) > Old Fr. *saïne*, etc.

-ĭcŭlus? > -ŭcŭlus: **genŭcŭlum*; **ranŭcŭla*, etc. Cf. Cohn 226-264.

-ŭdo (-ŭdĭnem) > -ŭmen (-ŭmĭnem): *consuetudo* **costumen*, *Substrate* I, 553-554; *incus incŭdo* **incŭmĭnem*, etc. Cf. Cohn 264-274.

4. COMPOUNDS.

a. NOUNS.

43. *Acer arbor* (> Fr. *érable*); *alba spĭna*; *avis strŭthius*; *bene placĭtum*, G. 131; *bis cŏctum*; *in ōdio*; *mĕdio die*; *mĕdio lŏco*.

b. ADJECTIVES.

44. These compounds generally belonged to the literary style. G. 130-134, 160-170: *magnisonans*; *omnimodus*; *unicornis*; *unigenitus*; etc. But *male habĭtus*, etc., were popular.

c. PRONOUNS.

45. See §§ 24, 65.

d. VERBS.

46. *Calce pistare*; *crucifigĕre*, G. 191; *fŏris mĭttĕre*; *genu flectĕre*, G. 191; *inde fŭgĕre* (> Fr. *enfuir*); *ĭntra vidĕre*; *manu tenĕre*; *mente habĕre* (> Pr. *mentaver*); *mĭnus pretiare*. So *antemĭttĕre*, etc., in *Gl. Reich*. In church writers there are many verbs in -ficare, as *mortificare*: G. 190.

e. ADVERBS.

47. There were many compounds made up of a preposition and an adverb: *ab ante*, R. 234; *ab intus*, R. 231, Bon. 483; *ab olim*, Bechtel 101; *a contra*, Bechtel 101; *a foras*, Bechtel 101; *a foris*, R. 231, Bon. 483; *a longe*, G. 203, Bon. 483; *a modo*, R. 232, Bon. 483; *a semel*, Bechtel 101; — *ad horam* = 'presently', 'just now', G. 426; *ad mane*, Bechtel 101; *ad semel*, Bon. 194, 484; *ad sero*, Bechtel 101; *ad subito*, Bechtel 101;

ad tunc, Bechtel 101; — *de contra*, Bechtel 101; *de deorsum*, R. 232; *de foris*, R. 232, G. 203; *de intro*, Bechtel 102; *de intus*, R. 232, G. 203; *de magis*, *Lat. Spr.* 487; *de retro*, R. 232; *de semel*, Bechtel 101; *de sursum*, R. 233, G. 203, Bon. 484; — *e contra*, G. 203; *ex tunc*, R. 433; — *in ante*, Bon. 484, *Lat. Spr.* 487; *in contra*, R. 235; *in hodie*, Bechtel 102; *in mane*, Bechtel 102; **in semel*, *Substrate* III, 268.

Petronius (Waters Ch. 38) says: *Ubi semel res inclinata amici de medio*.

The following compounds are of a still different nature: *ac sic*, *Per.* 40, 8, etc.; *et sic*, *Per.* 39, 17, etc.; *usque hodie*, G. 426, *Per.* 68, 13.

f. PREPOSITIONS.

48. Some of these adverbial compounds, and some others similar to them, were used as prepositions: *ab ante*, *Lexique* 40; — *de ante*, Bechtel 102; *de inter*, Bechtel 102, Haag 75; *de intus*; *de retro*; *in ante*; *in contra*. Cf. E. Wölfflin, *Abante*, in *Archiv* I, 437. Slightly different is *intus in*, Bechtel 102.

A compound made up of preposition + noun is found in: *in giro* (followed by the ablative or the accusative), Bechtel 102; *in medio*, Bechtel 102; *per girum* and *per giro* = *circa*, Bechtel 102.

Some compounds consist of two prepositions: **de ad* (> It. *da*)¹; *de post*, R. 235; *de sub*, R. 235; *de super*, Bon. 484.

g. CONJUNCTIONS.

49. *At ubi* and *ad ubi*, Bon. 484–486 (cf. *Per.* 74, 28, 85, 15, etc.); *et at ubi*, *Per.* 72, 19, 75, 3.

¹ Romance *da*, *dad* may be the result of a fusion rather than a combination of *de* and *ad*. In any case it is probably a late product. Some have thought it came from *de+ab*. Mohl, *Lexique* 38–47, says *da* is found from the 7th century on; he would derive It. and Old Sp. *da*, Sardinian *dave*, *dae*, Rætian *dad* from the Oscan *da*, *dat* and from a southern Latin **dabī*, **dabe*.

II. SYNTAX.¹

A. ORDER OF WORDS.²

50. The Romance order is simpler and more rational than that of Classic Latin. It does not permit the arbitrary separation of members that belong together, such as the preposition and the word it governs, or the adjective and the noun it modifies, as in Ovid's "In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas corpora." Neither does it allow the collocation of words of the same part of speech that belong logically in different places, as in the "In multis hoc rebus dicere habemus" of Lucretius. The most irrational features of the Classic Latin construction were surely artificial, and were not characteristic of daily speech. Nevertheless there is really a fundamental difference between the old order and the new: Romance has, so to speak, a *crescendo*, Latin to a certain extent a *diminuendo* movement (*Lat. Spr.* 491); Romance puts the emphasis at the end of the sentence, Latin in the middle. The principle, however, is not primarily rhythmic, but psychic, the difference being due to a diverse conception of the structure of language: Latin places the modifier before, Romance after the word modified. The modern order is the more logical, proceeding from the known to the unknown. The old arrangement is exemplified by this sentence: "Fabius

¹ See Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* III, for a comprehensive account of Romance syntax.

² See Elise Richter, *Zur Entwicklung der romanischen Wortstellung aus der lateinischen*, 1903, from which work most of the matter of this chapter was taken.

æquatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem vidit." The following examples illustrate the later structure: "Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia brevia," "Hæc loca sunt montuosa et natura impedita ad rem militarem." The change constitutes a progress in language; all cultivated peoples have made it. It is indigenous in Latin, not imitated from the Greek, which independently effected the same transformation.

51. The modern order was not abruptly substituted for the old. On the contrary, it is to be found in Latin, with generally increasing frequency, in inscriptions and popular writers, from the earliest texts down; it occurs sporadically also in literary authors, especially in Cicero. Petronius has notably short periods and an approach to the new structure. But until the fourth century the majority of Latin sentences have the old arrangement. Classic Latin may be said to represent an intermediate stage, while the revolution was in progress; there was a long struggle, and for centuries the ancient and the modern type were used side by side. By the fourth century the new order prevailed. Here is a characteristic passage from the *Peregrinatio*: "Hæc est autem vallis ingens et planissima, in qua filii Israhel commorati sunt his diebus, quod sanctus Moyses ascendit in montem Domini, et fuit ibi quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus" (*Per.* 37, 21-24). The following is a good sample of the style of the Vulgate: "Cui respondit Dominus: Qui peccaverit mihi, delebo eum de libro meo; tu autem vade, et duc populum istum quo locutus sum tibi; angelus meus præcedet te. Ego autem in die ultionis visitabo et hoc peccatum eorum" (*Exodus* XXXII, 33, 34).

52. There was always a tendency to put a stressed word first, followed by an unaccented one, such as a connective or an atonic pronoun (*Lat. Spr.* 490). According to Meyer-

Lübke, *Zs.* XXI, 313, personal pronouns, when unstressed, were always enclitic in Latin, and were attached preferably to the first word in the sentence; and so it was in the early stages of the Romance languages: cf. It. *vedolo* but *non lo vedo*, *aiutatemi* but *or m'aiutate*; Fr. *voit le* but *qui le voit*. The definite article, however, precedes its noun in all the Romance languages except Rumanian and Albanian (Zauner 40).

53. In dependent clauses, which were naturally of less importance, the old order survived longer than in independent. In a few other respects the old arrangement lingered and under certain conditions is still preserved: negative and intensive adverbs precede their verb; under some circumstances the object may come before the verb, and sometimes the whole predicate precedes; in certain constructions the dependent infinitive may stand before the finite verb (as Pr. *morir volgra*).

B. USE OF WORDS.

54. There were great changes in the functions of pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs. Many uses of prepositions are connected with the loss of inflections: these will be discussed under the Use of Inflections. A definite and an indefinite article developed out of *ille* and *unus*.

1. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

55. For the simplification of inflections, see the Use of Inflections.

Repetition for intensive effect is not uncommon in late writers: Commodian, *malum malum*, Wölfflin 4; *bene bene*, *bonis bonis*, *fortis fortis*, *malus malus*, etc., R. 280. Cf. § 40.

a. COMPARISON.

56. Little by little the old comparative and superlative lost their precise sense from being employed frequently with merely an intensive force (Wölfflin 83). The comparative came to be used for a superlative, as *omnium levior* (Wölfflin 68-71), and also for a positive, as Ovid's *inertior ætas* (Wölfflin 63-68); and the superlative was often really a positive in meaning, as in St. Augustine's *sancta atque dulcissima* (Wölfflin 57-63), and in *hic est filius meus carissimus*, etc. (R. 415-417). From early times certain periphrases were used to emphasize the comparative idea, as Plautus, *melius sanus* (Wölfflin 16); Anthimus, *plus congruus* and *maxime congruus* (Wölfflin 16; cf. *maxime pessima*, etc., R. 280); Vitruvius, *magis melior*, etc. (Wölfflin 46); Commodian, *plus levior*, etc. (Wölfflin 47). To avoid ambiguity, the *plus* and *magis* constructions were employed more and more to express a distinct comparison: *plus miser* in Tertullian, *plus formosus* in Nemasianus, *plus dulce*, *plus felix*, etc., in Sidonius Apollinaris (Wölfflin 29). Finally, toward the end of the Vulgar Latin period, this formation came to be popularly regarded as the regular one: *magis mirabilem*, Sepulcri 232; *plus popularis*, *magis . . . præclarum*, Bon. 451. Many old comparative forms remained, however, in common use. Cf. Adverbs. In the Romance languages a substitute for the superlative was made by prefixing the definite article to the comparative; it is likely that this device existed in late Vulgar Latin, but no example of it has been found. See *Archiv* VIII, 166-170.

b. NUMERALS.¹

57. *Unus* was used as an indefinite article, occasionally in Classic Latin, frequently in late and popular writers: *lepida*

¹ For the forms of numerals, see Morphology.

... *una* . . . *mulier*, Plautus, *Pseud.* 948; *unus servus*, Petronius, Waters Ch. 26; *accessit ad eum una sorella*, R. 425; cf. *Per.* 48, 25, etc.

58. Ordinal numerals, except a few of the smallest, were apparently not much used in popular speech after the fifth century.

2. PRONOUNS.

59. Pronouns were much more used than in Classic Latin: G. 408-409.

a. PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

60. The personal pronouns came into more and more frequent use. *Ego* and *tu* are very common in Petronius. The demonstratives, especially *ille*, were employed as personal pronouns of the third person. The adverb *inde* came to be used occasionally as a genitive neuter pronoun: *nemo inde dubitat*, Regnier 10; *exinde* = Fr. *en*, Bon. 580.

Many pronouns developed double forms, according as they were accented or unaccented (as *suus* and *sus*): see Morphology. Cf. § 158.

There was great irregularity in the use of reflexives, especially the possessives, *suus* being generally substituted for *ejus*. See *Lat. Spr.* 489, G. 403-404, Hoppe 102-103, Dubois 333-336.

b. DEMONSTRATIVES.

61. *Idem* went out of popular use, being replaced by *ille* and *ipse*. For the encroachment of *ipse* on *idem*, see Hoppe 104, Bayard 133.

62. *Is*, too, was often replaced by *ille* and *ipse* (Bechtel 145), and eventually was preserved in vulgar speech only in the combination *eccum* (= *ecce eum*), where it was not recog-

nized,¹ and in the extremely common phrase *id ipsum* (> *It. desso*), where likewise the *id* lost its significance. This last compound was used as a neuter pronoun, meaning 'it' or 'that,' as *id ipsum sapite*, R. 424 (cf. R. 424-425, G. 407, Quillacq 126), and also as a demonstrative adjective, generally invariable, as *id ipsum velam*, R. 424, *in id ipsum monasteriu*, *Franz.* 2 II, 2, *in id ipsam rem*, *Franz.* 2 II, 2.

63. *Hic*, *ille*, and *iste* came to be used indiscriminately (G. 405-406, Hoppe 104, Bayard 130-132); there are examples of *iste* for *hic* in Cæsar's time (Densusianu 178). *Hic* and *is*, too, were confused by late writers (Bayard 132). Toward the end of the Vulgar Latin period *hic* was apparently going out of common use, with the exception of the neuter *hoc*.

64. A combination of two demonstratives was common in Christian writers: *is ipse*, *iste ipse*, *ipse ille*, *ille ipse*, *iste ille*, *iste hic*, *hic ipse*. The last three have left no trace.

65. *Ecce* and *eccum* (pronounced *eccu*) were used as demonstrative prefixes (cf. § 24): we find early *ecce ego*, *ecce tu*, *ecce hic*, *ecce nunc*; also *ecce iste*, *ecce ille*, such combinations being common in Plautus. The final stage, probably not reached until the end of the Vulgar Latin period, is the fusion of the two parts into one word.

Atque, too, was perhaps used as a prefix (*Gram.* II, 646): Plautus, *atque ipse illic est* (*Epidicus* 91), *atque is est* (*Stichus* 582). G. Ascoli, however, *Intorno ai continuatori neolatini del lat.* "*ipsu-*" in *Archivio glottologico italiano* XV, 303 (discussing Sp. *aquese*, Pg. *aguesse*, Catalan *aqueix*, etc.), maintains that *eccu*' was the basis in all the Empire. At any rate, *eccu*' was influenced in some regions, especially in Spain and southern Gaul, by *atque* or *ac* (as in *ac sic*).

¹ Cf. Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* I, 25: "Ubi tu's? — Eccum."

When *iste* and *ille* lost their distinctive force, people said for 'this' *ecc'iste* or *eccu'iste*, for 'that' *ecc'ille* or *eccu'ille*. These compounds developed into **ecceste*, **acceste*, **ceste*, **eccueste*, **accueste*, **cueste* and **eccelle*, **accelle*, **celle*, **eccuelle*, **accuelle*, **cuelle*.

66. The suffix *-met* was used also as an intensive prefix, *ipset* becoming *metipse* through such combinations as *temet ipsum* (*Ecclus.* XXX, 22), *semet ipsum* (*Philip.* II, 8). Cf. § 24. *Ego met ipse* is blamed by Donatus (*Lat. Spr.* 484).

Beside *ipse*, there was an emphatic form *ipsimus* (used by Petronius: *Waters* Ch. 69, etc.). This, with the prefix *met-*, became **metipsimus*.

67. *Ille*, *hic*, *ipse*, *is*, especially *ille*, were used as personal pronouns of the third person. Cf. § 60.

68. *Ille*, *hic*, *ipse*, *is* were used also as definite articles. *Ille* in this function is very common: R. 419-420 (*cito proferte mihi stolam illam primam*). Examples of the others are by no means infrequent: *hic*, R. 427 (*virum hunc cujus est zona hæc*); *ipse*, R. 423 (*in ipsa multitudine*); *is*, R. 423-425. This use of *is* was probably more literary than popular.

c. INTERROGATIVES AND RELATIVES.

69. The forms were greatly confused by late writers. In Bon. 391-396 we find *qui* used as n. sg. and pl.; *quæ* as m., as n., as acc. f. sg., as acc. m. pl.; *quod* as m., as f. pl., as n. pl.; *quem* as n.; *qua* very often as n. pl. (395-396).

In popular speech *qui* was apparently used regularly for *quis*: Audollent 549, Quillacq 126-127, Bon. 391-392; it is common in inscriptions. Furthermore, the masculine *qui* took the place of the feminine *quæ*; it occurs in Christian inscriptions from the fifth century on: cf. R. 276 (*qui, quem* for *quæ*,

quam), Haag 51, Bon. 390-391, 394 (*qui* f. sg. and f. pl., *quem* f.), *Archiv* I, 53 (*qui* for *quæ* in 528 A. D.). *Quid*, moreover, gradually encroached on *quod*: Bon. 393.

70. *Qualis* was kept, and was used as an interrogative and as a relative. The adverb *unde* came to have occasionally the meaning of French *dont* (Bon. 580; *Zs. Beiheft* 7, 178), and eventually **de unde*, **d'unde*, was employed as a relative pronoun. Cf. § 84.

d. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

71. Some Classic Latin pronouns fell into disuse, and some new compounds were made. The principal indefinite pronouns and adjectives used in late popular speech are as follows:—

aliquanti took the place of *aliqui* and *aliquot*: *aliquanta oppida cepit*, G. 415.

aliquis flourished especially in the west: Sp. *alguien*, Pg. *alguem*. The neuter *aliquid* was more extended: Pr. *alques*.

aliqui unus > **aliqu'unus* **alicūnus*.

alius and *alter* were confused in common speech: G. 415-417; Plautus, *alius filius*, G. 417. This confusion is more frequent in late Latin: St. Jerome, *nemo judicat alterum*, G. 416. There may have been a neuter **alid*, after the model of *id*, *quid*: *Archiv* I, 237.

cata was probably introduced, along the Mediterranean, by Greek merchants, in such phrases as *cata unum* = καὶ ἓνα, *cata tres* = κατὰ τρεῖς. Hence **cata unus*, **cat' unus*, etc. Cf. § 19.

hōmo was used sometimes like French *on*: *Per.* 55, 25.

inde came to mean, in certain constructions, 'some' or 'any.'

magis: see *plus*.

māltus.

**nec ente* or **ne ente* was apparently used as an equivalent for *nihil*. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* II, 650, conjectures **ne inde*.

**ne ipse unus*, **ne'ps'unus*.

nec unus.

nēmo was kept in Italy, Sardinia, and Dacia: *Lat. Spr.* 485.

nūllus.

omnis: see *tōtus*. *Omnis* and *omnia* were kept in Italy.

paucus.

persona.

plus and *magis* were confused: G. 427, Regnier 108–109 (*quanto plus tenetur tanto plus timetur*, 109).

qualis.

quantus, *tantus* replaced *quot*, *tot*. There are examples as early as Propertius: Densusianu 179. Cf. Dräger 104, § 53, R. 336–337, G. 413–415 (St. Jerome, *quanti iusti esuriunt*, 414; Claudian, *tantis lacrimis*, 415).

quī.

quīque.

quīs.

quīsque, *quīsquis*. *Quisque* was much extended (G. 409–411), being used for *quisquis* and *quicumque* (Bayard 135).

res and *res nata* = ‘anyone’, ‘anything’: R. 345.

talīs.

tantus: see *quantus*.

tōtus, pronounced also *iottus* (S. 121) and perhaps **tūttus*, was sometimes used for *omnis*: Plautus, *totis horis*, *Mil. Glor.* 212. This use was common in late Latin: Densusianu 178, Bechtel 143, R. 338, G. 402–403 (*tota tormenta diaboli in me veniant*, 403). Cf. §§ 163, 204, (2).

ūnus.

3. VERBS.

72. Frequent in late Latin is a pleonastic use of *debeo*, Bon. 691–693: *commonens ut . . . custodire debeant*, 692. Cf. § 117. Compare the old Italian use of *dovere*.

There is also a common pleonastic use of *cæpi* with the infinitive, instead of the perfect: see § 124.

Videri, too, is often used pleonastically: Bayard 99–100.

4. ADVERBS.

73. The words referring to the “place in which” and the “place into which” were confused, *ubi* being used for *quo*, *ibi* for *eo*: *Lat. Spr.* 488. *Unde* was employed in the sense of

‘where’ (*Zs. Beiheft* 7, 157); also ‘therefore’ and ‘wherefore’: *Dic amice unde tristis es*, Regnier 110; cf. § 84.

74. *Plus* was often substituted for *magis*, and *magis* for *potius*: Bayard 110. *Plus* and *magis* were used more and more for comparison, and the old comparative and superlative forms became rarer: see § 56. Repetition was used for intensive effect: Seneca, *semper semper*, Wölfflin 5. *Bene*, *multum*, *satis* were employed as intensives more than in Classic Latin. *Totum* occurs often as an adverb: *Per.* 37,¹⁴, and many other places; Dubois 332.

75. Double negation is frequent: R. 446–447 (*nec facio nihil*, etc.). *Non* for *ne* with the subjunctive is common: G. 435, Regnier 110. The absolute use of *non*, meaning ‘no’, occurs occasionally: *Dicit unus ex uno angulo: Ecce hic est. Alius ex alio angulo: Non, sed ecce hic est*, Regnier 111.

5. PREPOSITIONS.

76. The functions of prepositions were very much extended (Bayard 137–158): see Use of Inflections, Cases.

77. *Ab*, according to Mohl, *Lexique* 43, is not found in any of the Italic dialects except Latin. It apparently has no successors in the Romance languages, having been replaced by *de*, which also, from the third century on, usurped the place of *ex* (*Lat. Spr.* 487, R. 395–396, Hoppe 38): *de palatio exit*, Bechtel 105; *egredere de ecclesia*, Bechtel 105; *de utero matris nati sunt sic*, R. 395; *egressus de arca*, G. 339; *muri de lapide jaspide*, G. 342; *vivo de decimis*, G. 341; *de adversario . . . aliquid postulare*, Hoppe 38; *nec de cubiculo . . . procedit*, Hoppe 38.

78. *Ad* for *apud* occurs in Plautus, Terence, and others

(Oliver 5-6), and is common in late writers (R. 390-392, Urbat 10): *ad ipsum fontem facta est oratio*, Bechtel 103; *ad nos*, Bechtel 104; cf. *Per.* 42, 27. For the most part *apud* was replaced by *ad*, except in Gaul, where it was kept with the sense of *cum*: Haag 74, Urbat 27 (*tractans apud me metipsum*; also *ab una manu pallas altaris tenerem*, etc., where *ab* seems to be used for *apud*). *Apud* is used for *cum* by Sulpicius Severus, and more frequently by later authors: *Lat. Spr.* 489. According to F. G. Mohl, *La préposition cum et ses successeurs en gallo-roman* in *Bausteine* 61, *apud* is repeatedly found for *cum* in the Latin writers of Gaul, and *cum* for *apud* in Gregory of Tours; *cum* probably disappeared from actual use in Gaul by the fourth century; *apud*, being, as he says, a new word, had a great vogue in authors of the second and third centuries, a critical period for Gaul, and so came to supplant *cum* in that country.¹

79. *Pro* often had the sense of 'for,' and replaced *ob* and *propter*: *fides pro una muliere perfida*, G. 343; *volo pro legentis facilitate abuti sermone vulgato*, G. 343; *attendimus locum illum pro memoria illius*, Bechtel 106. *Pro* itself was partially replaced by *per* (cf. § 14), but was substituted for *per* in other regions (Urbat 34-35).

80. *Circa*, in the Empire, frequently meant 'concerning': *frustrati circa veritatem*, Hoppe 37. *Juxta* often signified 'according to': *juxta consuetudinem*, Bechtel 105; *juxta drachmæ exemplum*, Hoppe 37. *Super* sometimes replaced *de*: *fallere vos super hanc rem*, Bechtel 106; *super anima commendatus*, Hoppe 41.

¹ Mohl would derive the Old It. *appo*, not from *apud*, but from **ad post* (p. 71): Fr. *avec*, not from *apud* + *hoc*, but from *ad hoc* (pp. 75-76). Pr. *ab* he takes from *apud*, but Pr. *am* from Italic *amb*, *am*.

81. *Retro, subtus, de foris, foris, foras* were freely used as prepositions (R. 398-400, G. 334): *vade retro me*, R. 399; *subtus terram*, R. 399.

6. CONJUNCTIONS.

82. *Quod, quia, quoniam* (and after *jubere, ut*: R. 427-428) are used very often by late writers instead of the accusative and infinitive construction: R. 402, Regnier 112-113. *Ut* with the infinitive is not infrequent: R. 445-446. *Quod* for *ut* is very common: Audollent 549. *Eo quod* came to be much used in the sense of 'that': *Per.* 48, 27, etc. Eventually *ut* was generally discarded.

Cur, quare sometimes replaced *quod* and *quia*: G. 431-432. *Quia*, which in late Latin was often reduced to *qui* or *qua* (see § 168) frequently took the place of *quod*: Regnier 111-112. *Quomodo* became a great favorite, often supplanting *quando, quod, and quoniam*: R. 403. *Quando* displaced *cum* in the temporal sense. *Qua*, 'when', encroaches on *quando* in the *Peregrinatio*: 46, 22, etc.; cf. Bechtel 119-120.

83. *Si* took the place of *an* and *utrum* (R. 403-405, Regnier 111), and was often used for *ne* and *num* (G. 430): *videte si potest dici*, Regnier 111. *Ac si* frequently did service for *quasi*: *Per.* 39, 13, and many other places; Bon. 323.

84. *Aut . . . aut* is sometimes equivalent to *et . . . et*: *Per.* 49, 24; cf. Bayard 161. *Ac sic* recurs continually in the *Peregrinatio*, meaning 'and so' or 'so': 40, 8, etc. *Tamen* in the same text (37, 2, etc.) seems to be used, in most cases, merely to indicate a subordinate clause. *Magis* is much employed for 'but' by late writers. *Unde* sometimes means 'therefore' and 'wherefore': G. 424 (*unde inquit Dominus*); cf. §§ 70, 73.

C. USE OF INFLECTIONS.

1. CASES.¹

85. In popular speech prepositions were more used, from the beginning, than in the literary language; prepositional constructions, as time went on, increasingly took the place of pure case distinctions, and the use of cases became more and more restricted. Hence arises in late writers a great irregularity in the employment of cases²: G. 302-326, Quillacq 96-103; for African Latin, *Archiv* VIII, 174-176; for confusion after verbs and adjectives, R. 412-415.

a. LOCATIVE.

86. The locative, rare in Classic Latin, remained eventually only in names of places. There are, however, several examples in the *Peregrinatio*: Bechtel 110, *et sic fit missa Anastasi, ut fit missa ecclesiæ*, etc. We find remnants of the locative genitive in *Agrigentī* > *Girgenti*, *Arimīnī* > *Rimini*, *Clusiī* > *Chiusi*, *Florentiæ* > *Firenze*, *Palestinæ* (G. 322), etc.; of the locative ablative singular in *Tībūrī* > *Tivoli*; of the locative ablative plural in *Andecāvīs* > *Angers*, *Aquīs* > *Acqui Aix*, *Astīs* > *Asti*, *Fīnibus* > *Fimes*, *Parīsīs* > *Parigi Paris*, etc. Cf. B. Bianchi in *Archivio glottologico italiano* IX, 378. With other words, and very often with place names also, the locative was replaced by *in* with the ablative (Hoppe 32: *in Alexandria*) or by *ad* with the accusative (Urbat 10); the *domi* or *domo* of Cicero becomes *in domo* in Seneca. When the locative of names of localities was kept, it generally came to be regarded as an in-

¹ Cf. Pirson 169-202.

² There is confusion even in Petronius, who occasionally uses the accusative for the dative and the ablative.

variable form; we find such locatives used as nominatives from the third century on: *Lat. Spr.* 481.

b. VOCATIVE.

87. The vocative is like the nominative in most words in Classic Latin, and such words as had a separate vocative form tended to discard it: vocatives in *-us*, instead of *-e*, occur in Plautus, Horace, and Livy; *meus* for *mi* is very common (Regnier 34). In Vulgar Latin the vocative form probably disappeared entirely, except perhaps in a few set phrases, such as *mī dōmīne*.

c. GENITIVE.

88. The genitive, little by little, was supplanted by other constructions, generally by the ablative with *de* (which occurs as early as Plautus), sometimes by the dative. Examples abound: *expers partis . . . de nostris bonis*, Terence *Heaut.* IV, 1, 39; *partem de istius impudentia*, Cicero, *Verr.* II, 1, 12; *clerici de ipsa ecclesia*, Bechtel 104; *de aceto plenum*, R. 396; *de Deo munus*, R. 396; *curator de sacra via*, R. 426; *de colentibus gentilibusque multitudo magna* (also *quidam ex eis*), *Acts* XVII, 4; *possessor de propria terra*, *Urbat* 20; *de sorore nepus*, *Pirson* 194; *terminus de nostra donatione*, 528 A. D., *Archiv* I, 53; cf. *Bon.* 610ff. For the partitive genitive we find: *nil gustabit de meo*, Plautus, cited by *Draeger* I, 628; *aliquid de lumine*, *Hoppe* 38; *neminem de præsentibus*, *Hoppe* 38; *de pomis* = 'some apples,' *Per.* 40, 10; *de spiritu Moysi*, *Bechtel* 104; *de animalibus*, *de oleo*, etc., R. 396; *aliquid habet de verecundia discipuli*, R. 342; *numquid Zacchæus de bono habebat*, *Regnier* 54; *quid de scientia*, *Sepulcri* 217; *de studentibus*, *Pirson* 197. Cf. *Oliver* 14.

89. According to Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr.* 487, the genitive probably ceased to be really popular, save in set combinations,

by the beginning of the third century. In late Latin a wrong form was often used: *a deo honorem* in an inscription in Gaul, *Zs. fr. Spr.* XXV, ii, 135; *matre meæ, alta nocte silentia*, etc., Bon. 341-342; *in fundo illa villa*, etc., D'Arbois 13; *in honore alme Maria*, etc., D'Arbois 91-93.

The genitive was retained, however, in some pronouns, in a good many set phrases, in certain words that belonged especially to clerical Latin, and probably in some proper names: *cūjus, illūjus, illōrum*, etc.; *lūncæ dñes, est ministēriū, de noctis tempore* > It. *di notte tempore* (later *di notte tempo*), etc.; *angelōrum, paganōrum*, etc.; It. *Paoli, Pieri*, etc.

d. DATIVE.

90. The dative was more stable than the genitive: *Lat. Spr.* 487. We find, however, as early as Plautus, a tendency to replace it by the accusative with *ad*: *ad carnuficem dabo*, Plautus, *Capt.* 1019; *ad me magna nuntiavit*, Plautus, *Truc.* IV, 1, 4; *si pecunia ad id templum data erit*, inscription of 57 B. C., *C. I. L.* IX, 3513; *apparet ad agricolas*, Varro, *De Re Rustica* I, 40; *ad propinquos restituit*, Livy II, 13. Inasmuch as the dative, in the singular of most nouns and in the plural of all, was identical in form either with the ablative or with the genitive (e. g., *causæ causis, muro muris, mari maribus*), the fear of ambiguity naturally fostered this practice and the substitution became very general in most of the Empire: *ait ad me*, *Per.* 64, 8; *dicens ad eum*, etc., Bechtel 102-103; *cum hæc ad vestram affectionem darem*, Bechtel 103; *fui ad episcopum* = 'I went to the bishop', Bechtel 104; *loquitur ad Jeremiam*, G. 329; *ad quem promissio facta*, G. 329; *ad omnem injuriam impatiens*, G. 330; *ad quem dixit*, *Sepulcri* 218; *Dominus ad Moysen dicit*, *Urbat* 12; *ad me restituit omne regnum*, *Urbat* 12; *ad Dei officio paratus*, *Pirson* 194. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 488, Oliver

3-4. Sometimes *super*, not *ad*, was used: *imposuerat manus super eum*, Bechtel 105; *super me misericordiam præstare*, Bechtel 105.

91. The dative remained in Dacia, and lingered rather late in Gaul (*Lat. Spr.* 481); elsewhere it probably disappeared from really popular speech by the end of the Empire, except in pronouns (*cūi, illūi illī, etc., mī, tibi, etc.*).

Rumanian has kept the dative, in its original function and also as a genitive, in the first declension (as *case*), and so in feminine adjectives (as *romîne*).

e. ABLATIVE.

92. The analytical tendency of speech, reinforced by the analogy of prepositional substitutes for the genitive and dative, favored the use of prepositions with the ablative, to distinguish its various functions. For *de* = 'than,' see *Zs.* XXX, 641.

Ab is common: *ab omni specie idololatriæ intactum*, Hoppe, 36; *ab sceleribus parce*, G. 335; *a carne superatur*, G. 337; *ab scriptura sancta commemoratos*, Regnier 51; *a præmio minorem esse*, St. Cyprian, cited by Wölfflin 52; *ab Ariulfi astutia deceptus*, Sepulcri 218.

De is the most frequent: *erubescens de infamia sua*, Hoppe 14; *de singularitate famosum*, Hoppe 33; *nobilior de obsoletiore matrice*, Hoppe 33; *digni de cælo Castores*, Hoppe 34; *gaudet de contumelia sua*, Hoppe 34; *de victus necessitate causatur*, Hoppe 35; *de vestra rideat æmulatione*, Hoppe 36; *de manibus suis*, Bechtel 104; *de oculis*, Bechtel 104 (cf. *de se*, Bechtel 105); *occidam de lancea*, R. 393; *patrem de regno privavit*, R. 426; *de virgine natus est*, Regnier 54; *de te beati sunt*, Regnier 56. Cf. R. 392-395, G. 339-342, Regnier 54-56.

Ex occurs also: *ex causa humanæ salutis*, Hoppe 33; *ex infirmitate fatigata*, Sepulcri 218.

In is often found: *in illo die*, Hoppe 31; *quo in tempore*, Hoppe 31; *in maxilla asinae delevi mille viros*, R. 397; *in camo et freno maxillas eorum constringe*, Ps. XXXI, 9; *in amore Dei ferventes*, G. 347; *in bonis operibus abundetis*, Regnier 60. Cf. R. 396-397, G. 344-347, Regnier 58 ff.

93. Sometimes *ad* or *per* with the accusative is substituted for the ablative: *per hoc*, Hoppe 33; *ad diem*, Bechtel 103; *ad horam sextam aguntur*, etc., Bechtel 103-104; *per nomen vocavit*, Sepulcri 218; *pugnare ad ursos*, *ad unum gladii ictum caput desecare*, Lat. Spr. 488.

94. The use of prepositions became really necessary in the late spoken language, because, after the fall of final *m* and the loss of quantitative distinctions in unaccented syllables, the ablative differed little or not at all from the accusative in the singular of most words: *causām causā*, *donūm donō*, *patrēm patrē*, *fructūm fructū*, *diēm diē*. It is likely that before the end of the Empire the ablative plural form was generally discarded, the accusative being used in its stead, and that the ablative and accusative singular were pronounced alike, in all words, in most of the Latin territory. The fusion of the two cases was doubtless helped by the fact that certain prepositions might be combined with either accusative or ablative.

95. There is evidence of the confusion of accusative and ablative as early as the first century, but it was probably not very common before the third. *Cum* with the accusative is very frequent: *cum suos discentes*, *cum sodales*, in inscriptions, Lat. Spr. 488; *cum epistolam*, Bechtel 95; *cum res nostras*, D'Arbois 27. Cf. E. K. Rand in *Modern Philology* II, 263, footnote 5.

The accusative form is substituted for the ablative after

other prepositions: *a monazontes*, Bechtel 94;—*de eo torrentem*, Bechtel 96; *de actus*, Bechtel 96; *de hoc ipsud*, Bechtel 96; *de martyrium*, Bechtel 96; *de carnem*, etc., R. 406-412; *de ipsas villas*, D'Arbois 27; *de rigna nostra*, D'Arbois 70-71;—*ex fines tuos*, etc., R. 406-412;—*videbo te in publicum*, Waters Ch. 58; *in finem Deus fecit cælum et terram*, etc., Hoppe 40-41; 12 examples of *in* + acc. for abl. in *Per.*, Bechtel 97-98; *erat in medium maris*, R. 410;—*pro hoc ipsud*, Bechtel 101; *pro nos*, D'Arbois 152;—*sine fructum*, etc., R. 406-412.

96. Conversely, the ablative form is very often written for the accusative: *ad ecclesia majore*, Bechtel 94;—*ante sole*, *ante cruce*, Bechtel 95; *ante sole*, etc., R. 406-412;—*circa puteo*, Bechtel 95;—*contra ipso loco*, Bechtel 95;—*foras ecclesia*, Bechtel 96;—*in carne conversa*, etc., Hoppe 40-41; in the *Per.*, *in* + abl. for acc. is three times as common as the correct use of *in* + acc., Bechtel 94-101; *venit in civitate sua*, etc., R. 406-412;—*intra civitate sua*, Bechtel 99; *intro spelunca*, Bechtel 99;—*juxta aqua ipsa*, Bechtel 99;—*per valle illa*, and 21 other cases of *per* + abl., Bechtel 100;—*post lectione*, Bechtel 100; *post morte*, etc., R. 406-412;—*prope luce*, Bechtel 101;—*propter populo*, Bechtel 101;—*super civitate hac*, Bechtel 101.

97. The ablative was kept only in some fixed expressions, such as *hōrā*, *ist' annō*, *quōmōdo*, *parī mente*, etc.; perhaps in such phrases as It. *vendere cento soldi*, etc.; probably in some proper names with *de*, as *Della Casa*. It is likely, too, that the ablative absolute survived in a few common expressions, like It. *ciò fatto*; generally, however, in popular speech, the nominative absolute took its place: Bechtel 109-110, *et benedicens nos episcopus profecti sumus, visa loca sancta omnia* (*Per.* 45, 8), etc.

f. ACCUSATIVE.

98. After verbs of motion *ad* was often used, sometimes *in*, instead of the simple accusative: *eamus in forum*, Waters Ch. 58; *fui ad ecclesiam*, Bechtel 103; *ad Babyloniam duxit*, G. 327; *consules ad Africam profecti sunt*, G. 328; *ad istam regionem venit*, Regnier 52. Cf. Regnier 51-52.

99. Duration of time was expressed by *per* with the accusative, also by the ablative: Bechtel 108-9, *per totos octo dies is ornatus est*, *tota autem nocte vicibus dicuntur psalmi*, etc.

g. FALL OF DECLENSION.

100. By the end of the Vulgar Latin period there probably remained in really popular use (aside from pronouns and a number of set formulas) in Dacia only three cases, in the rest of the Empire only two — a nominative and an accusative-ablative. Clerics, however, naturally tried to write in accordance with their idea of correct Latin.

2. VERB-FORMS.

101. Many parts of the verb went out of popular use, and were replaced by other locutions; these obsolete parts were employed by writers with more or less inaccuracy. In the parts that remained many new tendencies manifested themselves.

a. IMPERSONAL PARTS.

102. Only the present active infinitive and the present and perfect participles were left intact.

(1) SUPINE.

103. The supine disappeared from general use, being replaced, from the first century on, by the infinitive: as *cum*

veneris ad bibere, St. Augustine, *Sermones* 225, Cap. 4. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 490, Dubois 275. In Rumanian, however, the supine was preserved: Tiktin 596.

(2) GERUND.

104. With the exception of the ablative form, the gerund came to be replaced by the infinitive, sometimes with a preposition: *dat manducare*, *Lat. Spr.* 490; *quomodo potest hic nobis carnem dare ad manducare*, R. 430; *potestatem curare, necessitas tacere*, etc., G. 363.

The ablative form of the gerund became more and more a substitute for the present participle: *ita miserrimus fui fugitando*, Terence, *Eun.* V, 2, 8; Draeger II, 847-849, cites Livy, *conciendo ad se multitudinem*, and Tacitus, *assurgens et populando*; *hanc Marcion captavit sic legendo*, Hoppe 57; *multa vidi errando*, Densusianu 179; *qui pertransivit benefaciendo et sanando*, R. 432. Cf. R. 432-433. The ablative gerund was sometimes used for a conditional clause: *cavendo salvi erimus*, Hoppe 57.

(3) GERUNDIVE.

105. The gerundive was used as a future passive participle, with *esse*, from the third century on, in place of the future: *filius hominis tradendus est*, R. 433. Cf. R. 433-434, G. 386-388. Eventually, however, the gerundive was discarded, except in some standing phrases.

(4) FUTURE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.

106. The future active participle was probably rare in late Vulgar Latin, except when it was used with *esse* as a substitute for the future (as *facturus sum*). Sometimes, in a literary style, it took the place of a relative clause: *faveant mihi pro ejus nomine pugnaturus*, G. 389. Cf. G. 388-389.

(5) PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

107. The present participle was kept, and was used as an adjective and as a noun: see Derivation, Suffixes for Adjectives, *-ans*. Sometimes it was employed periphrastically with *esse*: *si ipse est ascendens in celos*, G. 389. Writers occasionally substituted it for a relative clause: *nemo mentiens plorat*, G. 388. Often, however, it was replaced by the ablative gerund: see Gerund above.

(6) PERFECT PARTICIPLE.

108. The perfect participle was kept, and, as will presently be seen, its use was greatly extended through new methods of forming the passive and the perfect tenses. Verbs that had no perfect participle were obliged to make one.

(7) INFINITIVE.

109. The perfect and passive infinitive forms eventually disappeared: see Voice and Tense below. In late writers, however, the perfect instead of the present infinitive is very common: R. 431-432 (*malunt credidisse*, etc.).

110. The infinitive + accusative construction was more and more avoided from the third century on: G. 371-375. It was replaced sometimes by the passive, but often by a clause introduced by *quia*, *quod*, *quoniam*, *ut*, etc.: *Eva vidisse describitur*, G. 371; *legitur dixisse Deus*, Regnier 63;—Bechtel 112-115, *dicent eo quod filii Israhel eas posuerint, sciens quod libenter haberetis hæc cognoscere, credidit ei quia esset vere filius Dei*, etc.; *perspicue exposuit quod ager mundus sit*, G. 377; *nesciebat quia Jesus erat*, G. 383; *de corpore loquor, ut spiritu valeat non ignoramus*, G. 385. Cf. G. 375-385, Bon. 659-671.

Late writers, wishing to avoid vulgarisms, often misused the infinitive + accusative: G. 371-373.

111. On the other hand, the infinitive assumed many new functions: see Supine and Gerund above. Cf. Hoppe 42–52: *Ninus regnare primus, amant ignorare, aliter exprimere non est, bonus et dicere et facere*, etc.

It was often used as a noun: *totum vivere animæ carnis est*, Hoppe 42; *ipsum vivere accedere est*, Regnier 106; *per malum velle perdidit bonum posse*, Regnier 106.

It replaced the subjunctive with *ut* and similar constructions: *vadent orare*, Bechtel 117; *revertitur omnis populus resumere se*, Bechtel 117; *valeamus assumi*, G. 363; *quæ legi digna sunt*, G. 366; *timuisti... facere*, G. 368; *non venit justos vocare*, G. 370; *venit aliquis audire*, Regnier 73; *male fecisti dare Spiritum sanctum*, Regnier 74; *mihi præcepit hæc loqui*, Bon. 673. Cf. G. 363–370, Regnier 73, Bon. 647, 671–675; P. Thielmann, *Facere mit dem Infinitiv* in *Archiv* III, 177.

It took the place of a relative or indirectly interrogative clause after certain verbs: *nesciendo quæ petere*, Venantius Fortunatus, cited in *Lat. Spr.* 490; *non habent unde reddere tibi*, R. 430.

b. VOICE.

112. Under the influence of *carus est*, etc., *amatus est* came to mean ‘he is loved’, etc. Hence *amatus fuit* signified ‘he was loved’: see Draeger I, 276ff. Then a whole passive inflection was made up of the perfect participle + *esse* (in northern Italy *feri*). The old passive forms—except the perfect participle and, to some extent, the gerundive—gradually disappeared from ordinary speech. Although authors kept up the classic practice as far as they were able, some examples of the popular formation may be culled from late writings: *denuo factus filius fui*, Hoppe 60; *mors salva erit cum fuerit devorata*, Hoppe 60; *conjectus in carcerem fuerat*, Hoppe 61; *permissa est accedere*, Regnier 63.

113. As the passive inflection disappeared, deponent verbs became active. Even in Classic Latin there is often hesitation, as in the case of *frustrare frustrari*, *irascere irasci*, etc. Many deponent verbs are used as active verbs by Petronius. In late vulgar speech *mori*, *sequi*, etc., followed the same course. Cf. Bonnet 402-413.

114. In the intermediate period the passive was frequently replaced by reflexive and active constructions. When *littera scribitur* seemed archaic, and *littera scripta est* vulgar, people said *littera se scribit* and *litteram scribunt* or *litteram scribit homo*: cf. *facit se hora quinta*, Bechtel 126; *se sanare* = *sanari* in the 4th century, *Rom.* XXXII, 455; for the use of *homo* with the force of French *on*, see *Per.* 55, 25.

c. MOOD.

(1) IMPERATIVE.

115. The imperative came to be restricted to the second person singular and plural of the present, the subjunctive being used for the third person, and also for the first. Dubois 275 notes that the forms in *-o* are very rare in Ennodius, who lived in southern Gaul in the fifth century.

116. In negative commands the imperative was often replaced by the subjunctive, by the indicative (found in Pirminius), and in Italy, Gaul, and Dacia by the infinitive: *Lat. Spr.* 490.

(2) SUBJUNCTIVE.

117. The subjunctive was limited to fewer functions, being replaced by the indicative in many constructions: *cum hi omnes tam excelsi sunt*, Bechtel 115; *si scire vultis quid facitis*, Regnier 69; etc. At the end of the Vulgar Latin period it was probably used, in popular speech, very much as it is used

in the Romance languages. Late writers, while trying to follow the traditional practice, were less logical and evidently less spontaneous than Classic authors in their employment of the subjunctive.

Sometimes the subjunctive was replaced by *debeo* with the infinitive: *debeant accipi* = *accipiantur*, G. 418. Cf. § 72.

Sometimes, after *facio*, its place was taken by the infinitive: Regnier 27-28, *ecce Pater fecit Filium nasci de vergine*, etc. Cf. § 111.

In conditions not contrary to fact, in indirect discourse and indirect questions, in dependent clauses that are not adversative nor dubitative, the indicative was often substituted for the subjunctive: R. 428-430, G. 355-357, Regnier 68-71.

On the other hand, late writers often put the subjunctive where Classic authors would have put the indicative: G. 357-362.

118. The imperfect subjunctive gradually gave way to the pluperfect: this use is common in the *Bellum Africanum* (*Lat. Spr.* 489); cf. Sittl 133-134. It apparently began with *debuisset*, *potuisset*, *voluisset*, used freely for the imperfect by Gregory the Great (*Sepulcri* 226) and others, and with perfect infinitives like *tacuisse* for *tacere* (*Lat. Spr.* 489: examples from the 4th century).

The imperfect subjunctive ultimately went out of use, except in Sardinia. Writers of the third and fourth centuries show uncertainty in the use of it; R. 431 cites many examples, as *timui ne inter nos bella fuissent orta*.

In Rumanian the pluperfect subjunctive has assumed the function of a pluperfect indicative: *căntăse*, etc.

119. The perfect subjunctive was apparently confused with the future perfect indicative. It was thus preserved in Spain

and in Italian and Rumanian dialects: cf. C. De Lollis in *Bausteine* 1, and V. Crescini in *Zs.* XXIX, 619; Tiktin 596. Cf. § 124.

d. TENSE.

120. The present and imperfect indicative and the present subjunctive remained, in general, with their old functions; see, however, § 117. For the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive, see § 118; for the perfect subjunctive, § 119. In the perfect, pluperfect, future, and future perfect indicative great changes took place, which led also to the formation of a new perfect and pluperfect subjunctive.

(1) THE PERFECT TENSES.

121. In Classic Latin *habeo* with the perfect participle was used to express a lasting condition: *Hannibal quia fessum militem praeliis operibusque habebat*, *Part. perf.* 376. It was used in the same way with adjectives: *miserum habere*, etc., *Part. perf.* 372 ff. Even in Classic Latin, however, the meaning of this locution began to shift to the perfect, or something akin to it: Cato the elder, *quid Athenis exquisitum habeam*, *Part. perf.* 516; Plautus, *illa omnia missa habeo*, *omnis res relictas habeo*, *Part. perf.* 535; in legal phraseology, *factum habeo*, *Part. perf.* 537–538; Sallust, *compertum ego habeo*, Draeger I, 295. The construction is very common in Cicero in a sense that closely approaches the perfect: *satis habeo deliberatum*, *Part. perf.* 415; *scriptum habeo*, *Part. perf.* 422; *rationes cognitatas habeo*, Densusianu 181; *pecunias magnas collocatas habent*, Draeger I, 294; cf. *Part. perf.* 405, 414–415, 423, 518–521, Draeger I, 294–295.

122. In late Latin this compound often had simply a perfect meaning: *metuo enim ne ibi vos habeam fatigatos*, Regnier 28; *episcopum invitatum habes*, Bon. 690. Cf. Bon. 689–691.

In popular speech it supplanted more and more the original perfect form, which was increasingly confined to its aorist function: *Lat. Spr.* 489. In the Spanish peninsula, however, and to some extent in Italy, the old perfect meaning was not entirely lost.

123. On the model of this new perfect, a compound pluperfect was constructed: Cicero, *quas in ærario conditas habebant*, Draeger I, 294; *si Dominum iratum haberes*, Regnier 28; *quam semper cognitam habui*, Sepulcri 227. In the same way a future perfect was made: *de Cæsare satis dictum habebo*, *Part. perf.* 537. Eventually an entire perfect inflection was built up with *habere* or, in the case of neuter verbs, with *esse*; its vogue began in Gaul in the fifth century, elsewhere in the sixth: *Part. perf.* 543, 541.

124. The old perfect form remained in popular use, generally with the aorist sense. Some late writers were fond of substituting for it *cæpi* with an infinitive: Waters Ch. 70, etc. Cf. § 72.

The old pluperfect indicative became rarer, but still lingered, sometimes with its original sense, sometimes as a preterit, sometimes as a conditional. The preterit use occurs in *dixerat, ortaret, transalaret* in the *Gl. Reich.*; *auret, furet, pouret*, etc., in the Old French *Sainte Eulalie*; *boltier* in the Old Italian *Ritmo Cassinese* (*Zs.* XXIX, 620); etc. The conditional function, which came down from the Classic Latin use in conditional sentences, was preserved in Spanish, in Provençal, in some southern Italian dialects (notably in the *Rosa fresca aulentissima*), and in the Italian *fora* < *fueram*.

The old future perfect was apparently confused with the perfect subjunctive, and continued to be used, with the force of a future indicative or subjunctive, in the Spanish peninsula,

in some dialects of Italy, and in Dacia: Sp. *cantâre*, Old Sp. *cantâro*. Cf. § 119.

The old pluperfect subjunctive was used as an imperfect: see § 118.

(2) FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL.

125. The Latin future was not uniform in the four conjugations; the formation in *-bo*, which was used in three of them and prevailed in two, was native, according to Mohl, *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 141-142, only in Rome and the immediate vicinity. Furthermore, the future in the first two conjugations was suggestive of the imperfect, and in the other two, in late pronunciation, was liable to confusion with the present subjunctive and indicative. These causes or others made the future unpopular. As the tense became rare in speech, mistakes were made in writing: *Vok.* I, 98; Regnier viii. The old *audibo*, *dormibo* forms were kept late (*Futurum* 161), and we find such errors as *respondeam* for *respondebo* (*Futurum* 158).

126. Classic Latin had some circumlocutions, such as *facturus sum*, *delenda est*, *habeo dicere*, which approached the meaning of the future. During the Empire there was a strong tendency to substitute these or other constructions for the future forms (such periphrases are particularly frequent in African church Latin):—

(1) The present indicative for the future is common in Cicero in conditional sentences: Lebreton 188-190. The substitution became frequent in all sorts of constructions: *nam si vis ecce modo pedibus duco vos ibi*, Bechtel 112; *cum volueris ire imus tecum et ostendimus tibi*, Bechtel 112; *pervidet*, Bechtel 90-91; *quando corrigis, quando mutaris? cras, inquis*, Regnier 64; *jam crastina non eximus*, Sepulcri 225. Cf. Draeger I, 286 ff.; Sepulcri 225-226.

(2) The future participle + *esse* was a favorite with late writers: *sic et nos futuri sumus resurgere*, Regnier 29. Cf. Bayard 256. See §§ 105, 106.

(3) *Velle* and *posse* + infinitive were frequent: G. 423. *Velle* in this sense was preserved in Dacia; the oldest Rumanian future is *voiŭ jurá* or *jurá voiŭ*: Tiktin 599.

(4) *Debere* + infinitive was another substitute. It was kept in Sardinian.

(5) *Vadere*, *ire*, *venire* + infinitive were used also.

127. The form that prevailed, however, was *habeo* with the infinitive: In Classic Latin *habeo dicere* = *habeo quod dicam*, being so used by Cicero and many others; later, as in Suetonius, it means *debeo dicere*: *Futurum* 48ff. Cf. Varro, *De Re Rustica* I, 1, *ut id mihi habeam curare*; Cicero, *Ad Famil.* I, 5, *tantum habeo tibi polliceri*; Lucretius VI, 711, *in multis hoc rebus dicere habemus*; Ovid, *Trist.* I, 1, 123, *mandare . . . habebam*. In these senses it was very common in late writers: *habes spectare*, Hoppe 43; *filius Dei mori habuit*, Hoppe 44; *probare non habent*, Hoppe 44; *non habent retribuere*, R. 447; *multa habeo dicere*, R. 447; *unde mihi dare habes aquam vivam*, R. 448; *exire habebat*, R. 449; *nec verba nobis ista dici habent*, Regnier 28. Cf. R. 447-449.

128. This *habeo* construction finally took the sense of a simple future: Tertullian, *aliter prædicantur quam evenire habent, cui dare habet Deus corpus*, etc., Hoppe 44-45;—Servius, *velle habet, Futurum* 180;—St. Jerome, *qui nasci habent*, G. 370;—St. Augustine, *tollere habet, Densusingianu* 181; *et sic nihil habes invenire in manibus tuis, videre habetis, venire habet*, etc., Regnier 28. It had become common in Italy by the sixth century.

129. In the early stages of the Romance languages, or

possibly in the latest stage of Vulgar Latin, the infinitive came to stand regularly, though not immutably, just before the *habeo*. Finally the two words were fused into one, but this union was not completed until after the beginnings of the Romance literatures, and in Portuguese it is not completed yet: Old Sp. *cantaré* or *he cantar*; separation is common in Old Provençal, and occurs in Old Italian; Pg. *fazel-o-he*. The earliest examples of the Romance future are found in Fredegarius: *Justinianus dicebat 'daras'*, Haag 54; *addarabo*, Haag 55. See Morphology.

130. On the model of this new form, an imperfect of the future, or *conditional*, was constructed. The phrase existed, ready for use, in Classic Latin, where it was employed with an implication of obligation or necessity. So it seems to be used by Tertullian, although sometimes with him the meaning borders on a real conditional: *non traditus autem traduci habebas, ista civitas estermnari haberet quod esset venturus et pati haberet*, etc., Hoppe 43-45.

In Classic Latin, in place of *amassem* in the conclusion of a conditional sentence, *amaturus eram* or *fui* was often used; and when *amaturus sum* was replaced by *amare habeo*, it was natural that *amaturus eram* should give way to *amare habebam*. Furthermore, to match such a sentence as *dicit quod venire habet*, there was needed a past construction like *dixit quod venire habebat* or *habuit*; and corresponding to *si possum venire habeo*, something like *si potuissem venire habebam* or *habui* was called for.

St. Cyprian and St. Hilary seem to show a simple conditional use of the compound: *quod lex nova dari haberet*, Bayard 256; *manifestari habebat*, Bayard 257;—*Herodes principes sacerdotum ubi nasci habebat Christus interrogat*, Quillacq 116. There are sure examples from the fifth century on: *Lat. Spr.* 489.

The development of this form in the Romance languages was, in general, parallel to that of the future: see Morphology.

The origin of the Rumanian conditional, *cîntareașî*, is not obvious; for a full discussion of the question, see H. Tiktin, *Die Bildung des rumänischen Konditionalis* in *Zs.* XXVIII, 691.

III. PHONOLOGY.

A. SYLLABICATION.

131. The principles of syllabic division are rather difficult to establish. The Latin grammarians seem to have given no heed to actual speech, but to have followed the usage of Greek spelling, supporting it with purely theoretical considerations. Cf. S. 132-151. According to these writers, the syllable always ended in a vowel, or in a liquid or nasal followed by another consonant in the next syllable, or in half of a double consonant: *a-ni-ma*, *no-ctem*, *pro-pter*, *a-mnis*; *al-ter*, *in-fans*; *sic-cus*, *mit-to*. The division of *s* + consonant they regard as uncertain (*a-s-trum*); doubtless in reality the *s* was nearly syllabic, as in Italian. They add that etymological considerations often disturb the operation of the rule, as in *ob-liviscor*, etc.

132. In point of fact, however, all consonant groups, except a mute + a liquid, made position and attracted the accent: *perféc-tus*, and not *pérfe-ctus*. It is altogether likely, then, that a consonant group, in the spoken language, was usually divided after the first consonant: *no-ctem*, *prop-ter*. A single consonant between vowels certainly went with the second: *po-si-tus*.

The group mute + liquid makes position in the older dramatists: Nævius accents *intégram*, *Lat. Spr.* 466. In the Classic poets it may or may not make position. Quintilian I, 5 recommends *ténebræ*, *vólucres*, *pháretra*, etc. In Vulgar Latin this combination almost invariably attracts the accent: *cathédra*. It is likely that in Old Latin the division came before the

liquid, but subsequently, after the accent had become fixed on the preceding vowel, both consonants were carried over: *có-lub-ra*, *co-lúb-ra*, *co-lú-bra*.

133. We have reason to believe that in closely connected speech a final consonant was carried over to the next word, if that word began with a vowel: *cor exsultat* = *co r-exsultat*.

B. ACCENT.

134. The Latin accent was probably from the beginning a stress accent. In the earliest stage of the language it apparently fell regularly on the first syllable: Corssen II, 892-906; S. 30-34; *Franz.* I, 13. The Classic Latin system—according to which the accent falls on the penult if that syllable is long, otherwise on the antepenult—developed as early as literature began, and remained, both in the literary and in the spoken language, through the Classic period; even after the distinctions of quantity were lost, the place of the accent was unchanged: *bonitátem*, *cómpŭto*, *delěcto*.

The penult vowel before mute + liquid (cf. § 132) normally has the stress in Vulgar Latin: *cathédra*, *colúbra*, *intégram*. There seem to be a few exceptions to the rule: Old Fr. *palpres* < *pálpebras*, Old Fr. *poltre* < **púllitra*, and perhaps some others.

1. PRIMARY STRESS.

135. We have seen that Vulgar Latin regularly accents according to the Classic quantitative accentuation. There are, however, some cases in which the Classic principle fails to operate or the Classic stress has been shifted:—

a. VOWELS IN HIATUS.

136. Accented *e* and *i*, when immediately followed by the vowel of the penult, became *y*, the accent falling on the

following vowel: *mulĭēris* > *muljēris*, S. 51, *Lat. Spr.* 468; *putēōlis* > *putjōlis*, *C. I. L. X*, 1889 (PVTEÓLIS); so *parĭētes* > *parjētes* > *parētes*,¹ *C. I. L. VI*, 3714 (PARETES). This change seems to be due to a tendency to shift the stress to the more sonorous of two contiguous vowels: cf. O. Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, p. 192. It was favored also by the analogy of *mūlier*, *pūteus*, *pāries*, etc., in which the vowel in hiatus is atonic.

137. Accented *u*, when immediately followed by the vowel of the penult, became *w*, the accent falling on the preceding syllable: *bat(t)ūĕre* > **báttuere* > *báttere*; *consūĕre* > **cónsuere* > *cónsere*; *habūĕrunt* > **hábuerunt*; *tenūĕram* > **ténueram*. Here the shift was apparently due in each case to analogy, *battuere* being influenced by *báttuo*, *consuere* by *cónsuo*, *habuerunt* by *hábuīt*, *tenueram* by *ténui*, etc.

138. Aside from these cases, hiatus seems to have had no effect on the accent in Latin. It is possible, however, that *dúos*, *súos*, *túos* were sometimes pronounced *duós*, *suós*, *tuós*.

b. COMPOUND VERBS.

139. Verbs compounded with prefixes were generally re-constructed with the accent and the vowel of the simple verb, provided the composite nature of the formation was understood and the parts were recognized (cf. § 31): *déficit* > **disfácit*, *dísplĭcet* > **displácet*, *ímplicat* > **implicat*, *réddĭdi* > *reddēdi*, *réquĭrit* > **requĕrit*, *retĭnet* > **retēnet*, etc. Cf. *Gram.* II, 668–670. So *calefacis*, S. 56; *condedit*, *perdedit*, *reddedit*, *tradedit*, S. 54; *addedi*, *adsteti*, *conteneo*, *crededi*, *inclausus*, *presteti*, etc., *Sepulcri* 213–215. On the same plan new verbs were formed: **de-mĭnat*, *re-négat*, etc.

¹*ĕ* regularly became *ē*; but if the preceding consonant was *l*, it was palatalized: hence *parētes*, but **mul'ères*. Cf. § 225.

Rēcĭpit became **reĭpit*, the composite character of the word being felt, although the compound was no longer associated with *capere*.

In *cōllĭgo* and some others not even the composite nature was perceived, the simple verbs having become rare or having taken a different sense: *legere*, for instance, came to be used only in the sense of 'read.'

c. ILLAC, ILLIC.

140. The adverbs *illāc*, *illĭc* accented their last syllable through the analogy of *hāc*, *hĭc*. Priscian says "*illĭc* pro *illice*": S. 42.

d. FICATUM.

141. There existed in Greek a word *συκωτόν* (Pirson 40), 'figlike', which was applied by cooks to a liver. It is found in late Latin in the form *sycotum*, which should properly have been pronounced *sȳcōtum*; for some unknown reason, perhaps under the influence of a vulgar **hēpāte* for *hēpar*, 'liver', it probably became **sēcotum*.

Through this word there came into use the culinary terms *fīcātum*, **fĭcatum*, **fēcatum*, **fēcotum*, **fēcitum*, all meaning 'liver.' *Fīcātum*, a simple translation of *συκωτόν*, prevailed in Dacia, Rætia, and northern Italy. *Fēcatum* or *fēcotum*, a fusion of *fīcātum* and **sēcotum*, was preferred in central and southern Italy. *Fĭcatum*, a cross between *fēcatum* and *fīcātum*, was kept in Sicily and in the Spanish peninsula. Sardinia preserved both *fīcātum* and *fĭcatum*. Gaul had *fĭcatum* and *fēcatum*; later, by a change of suffix, *fēcitum*. See G. Paris in *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli* 41; H. Schuchardt in *Zs.* XXV, 515 and XXVIII, 435; L. Clédât in *Revue de philologie française et de littérature* XV, 235.

e. NUMERALS.

142. The numbers *vīgīntī*, *trīgīnta*, *quadrāgīnta*, *quīnquāgīnta*, etc., were sometimes accented on the antepenult: Consentius mentions a faulty pronunciation *trīgīnta*, Keil V, 392, lines 4-5; *quarranta* occurs in a late inscription, *Vok.* II, 461, Pirson 97. See M. Ihm in *Archiv* VII, 69-70; G. Rydberg in *Mélanges Wahlund*, 337. The shift was probably due to a natural tendency to differentiate the numerals from one another: compare the floating accent in English *thirteen*, *fourteen*, etc.

d. GREEK WORDS.

143. The accentuation of Greek words was varied. Sometimes the Greek stress was preserved, sometimes the word was made to conform to the Latin principle.

(1) GREEK OXYTONES.

144. Greek oxytones, when borrowed by Latin, were stressed according to the Latin system: *δραχμή* > *drách(ŭ)ma*, *ἐπιστολή* > *epístŭla -ŏla*, *λαμπάς* > *lámpa(s)*, *μηχανή* > *mác(h)-īna*, *παραβολή* > *parábŭla*, *πειρατής* > *pírāta*, *σπασμός* > *spásmus*, *ταπεινός* > **tapīnus*. Cf. S. 42 ff., Claussen 809.

Συκωτόν, however, apparently stressed the first syllable: see § 141.

(2) GREEK PAROXYTONES.

145. Greek paroxytones were mostly accented according to the quantity of the penult: *γραφίον* > *gráphŭum*, *καμάρα* > *cámĕra*, *μαγίδα* > *mágĭda*, *παλάμη* > *pálma*, *πολύπους* > *pólŭpus*,¹ *πορφύρα* > *pŭrphŭra*, *φαρέτρα* > *phárĕtra* or *pharétra* (cf. § 134).

Πτισάνη (> *ptísăna*) > It. *tisána*, *φιάλη* (> *phíăla*) > It. *fiála*, *χολέρα* (> *chólĕra*) > It. *coléra*, etc., may represent popular terms borrowed by ear from the Greek, with the Greek stress,

¹ Occasionally the accent was kept by doubling the consonant, as *políppus*.

but it is more likely that the Italian forms are book-words with a shifted accent.

Cf. S. 42 ff., Claussen 810-811.

146. The ending *-ía* was at first generally assimilated to the Latin *-ia*: βιβλία > *bíblia*, βλασφημία > *blasphémia*, ἐκκλησία > *ec(c)lésia*, ιστορία > *história*, σηπία > *séphia*, συμφωνία > *symphónia*. Later a fashionable pronunciation *-ía*, doubtless favored by Christian influence, penetrated popular speech (σοφία > *sophía*, etc.) and produced a new Latin ending *-ía*, which was used to form new words: see Derivation, Suffixes for Nouns. Cf. Claussen 812. The pronunciations *melodía*, etc., and *sophía*, etc., are attested: S. 55-56.

The endings *-εία*, *-είον* sometimes became *-ěa* *-ěa*, *-ěum* *-ěum*, sometimes *-ěa*, *-ěum*: βαλανείον > *bálněum*, κωνωπέιον > *conopěum* *-ěum* *-ěum*, πλατεία > *platěa* *platěa*. Cf. Claussen 813-814.

(3) GREEK PROPAROXYTONES.

147. The treatment of proparoxytones is complicated. Cf. S. 42-49, Claussen 814-821, *Gram.* I, 35, § 17, A. Thomas in *Rom.* XXXI, 2-3. Late Latin grammarians mention a pronunciation of Greek words with the Greek accent (S. 42), but their statements are too vague to be of use.

A few early borrowed words perhaps show the Old Latin accentuation: κυπάρισσος > **cúparissos* > *cupressus*. Cf. Clausen 809.

148. When the penult was short, the accent remained unchanged: γένεσις > *géněsis*, κάλαμος > *cálămus*, κόλαφος > *cólăphus*, πρεσβύτερον > *presbýtĕrum* (with a new nominative *présbyter*).

149. When the penult vowel was in position, it took the accent: ἄβυσσος > *abýssus*, βάπτισμα > *baptísma*, τάλαντον > *taléntum*.

*Εγκανστον, however, became both *encáustum* and *éncaustum*.

Occasionally the consonant group was simplified and the accent remained: καρνόφυλλον > *garófŭlum.

150. When the penult vowel was long and not in position, it apparently took the accent in book-words but not in words learned by ear (S. 48-49): κάμηλος > *camēlus* -ēllus, κάμινος > *camīnus*, κροκόδειλος > *crocodīlus*, φάλλαινα > *ballēna*; ἄγκῦρα > *āncōra*, βλάσφημος > *blásphēmus* (Prudentius), βουτύρον > *bútŭrum* (Æmilius Macer), Ἰάκωβος > *Jácobus*, σέλινον > *sélinum.

Some words have both pronunciations: εἶδωλον > *īdōlum* (both in Prudentius: *Lat. Spr.* 466), ἔρημος > *erēmus* *erēmŭs* (Prudentius), σίνᾱπι > *sīnapi* *sīnāpi*.

e. OTHER FOREIGN WORDS.

151. Some words borrowed from other languages kept their original accent, contrary to Latin rules (S. 49): Umbrian *Pisaurum* > It. *Pésaro*, etc.; Celtic *Baiócasses* > Fr. *Bayeux*, *Durócasses* > Fr. *Dreux*, *Trícasses* > Fr. *Troyes*, etc., Dottin 103.

152. Germanic words were apparently made to conform to Latin types: *Húgo Húgun* > *Húgo Hugónem* > Fr. *Húes Huón*; Kluge 500.

2. SECONDARY STRESS.

153. As far as we can determine the rhythm of Vulgar Latin, judging from phonetic changes and from semi-popular late Latin verse, it consisted in a tolerably regular alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. Thus Sedulius, at the beginning of the fifth century, writes:

Beátus áuctor sǽculí
 Servíle córpus ínđuít,
 Ut cárne cárnem líberáns
 Ne pérderét quos cóndidít.

The secondary stress, then, fell on the second syllable from the tonic: *cupīdītōsus*, *felicitātem*; *dōlōrōsa*, *lācrimōsa*; *Cēsārēm*, *Gāllīās*. In some derivatives, however, the root syllable may have received an irregular stress through the analogy of the primitive: **ārboricēllus*.

In late formations *e* or *i* in hiatus did not count as a syllable: **comīnitiāre*.

154. When the secondary stress *preceded* the tonic, it was strong, and the vowel bearing it was apparently treated as an accented vowel: **amīcītātem* > Pr. *amistāt*; so, in Italian, *Buólognīno* beside *Bológna*, *Fiórentīno* beside *Firénze*, *vétto-vágliā* beside *vittória*.

When it *followed* the tonic, it was weak, but probably the vowel bearing it had more force than a wholly unaccented final vowel: *sócēri* > Pr. *sózer*, *plácītūm* > Pr. *plach*; but *clérī-cūm* > Pr. *clérque* while *clér'cum* > Pr. *clerc*, *colāphūm* > Pr. *colbe* while *col'pum* > Pr. *colp*.

155. In many cases the intervening vowel fell out or lost its syllabic value. Then the primary and the secondary accent were brought together, and the secondary was shifted or lost: **parābulāre* > **parāulāre* > **pāraulāre*, *cálidūs* > *cáldus*, *filiūs* > *filius*.

UNSTRESSED WORDS.

156. Short, unemphatic words, in Latin as in other languages, had no accent, and were attached as additional syllables to the beginning or end of other words (S. 38-39): *non-ámat*, *áma-me*, *te-videt*, *dó-tibi*, *cave-fácias*, *circum-lítora* (Quintilian I, 5). Many words, especially prepositions and conjunctions, as well as some adverbs and pronouns, were used only as enclitics or proclitics.

157. If such particles had more than one syllable, they tended to become monosyllabic: unstressed *magis*, perhaps influenced by *plus*, became **mais* and **mas*. A dissyllabic proclitic beginning with a vowel seems to have regularly lost that vowel: *illum videt* > 'lu' *videt*; *ecce hic* > 'c'ic (but *écce hic* > *ecc'ic*); *eccum istum* > 'cu' *istu'* (but *éccum istum* > *eccu'istu'*). For elision, see *Franz.* 2 II, 73-79, 379-390.

158. Words sometimes stressed and sometimes unstressed tended to develop double forms: *illās* > *illas* and **las*, *sūa* > *súa* and *sa*. Cf. S. 56-57.

C. QUANTITY.

159. We must distinguish between the quantity of vowels and the quantity of syllables. Every Latin *vowel* was by nature either long or short; how great the difference was we do not know, but we may surmise that in common speech it was more marked in stressed than in unstressed vowels. A *syllable* was long if it contained (1) a long vowel or a diphthong or (2) any vowel + a following consonant. If, however, the consonant was final and the next word began with a vowel, the consonant, in connected speech, was doubtless carried over to the next syllable and did not make position: see § 133. For the syllabication of mute + liquid, see §§ 132, 134.

1. POSITION.

160. In some of the Romance languages position checked the development of the preceding vowel, and it is probable that the beginnings of this differentiation go back to Vulgar Latin times: *pa-rem* > Old Fr. *per*, *par-tem* > Fr. *part*. Mute + liquid did not prevent the development: *pa-trem* > Fr. *pere*. Neither, apparently, did a final consonant (cf. § 133): *sa-l* > Fr. *sel*.

Compare Italian *fiero* < *fě-rus*, *ferro* < *fě-rum*; *petto* < *pěc-tus*, *pietra* < *pě-tra*, *fiel(e)* < *fě-l*; — *fuore* < *fě-ris*, *collo* < *cōl-lum*; *corpo* < *cōr-pus*, *cuopre* < **cō-p'rit*, *cuor(e)* < *cō-r*.

161. Early in the Empire *ss* after diphthongs and long vowels was apparently reduced to *s* (S. 112–120): *cāssus* > *cāsus*, *caussa* > *causa*, *formōssus* > *formōsus*, *glōssa* > *glōsa*, *mīssit* (S. 118: *MISSIT*) > *mīsīt*. This did not occur, however, in the contracted endings *–āsse –āssem* etc., *–ēsse –ēssem* etc., *–īsse –īssem* etc.

Similarly one *l* was lost in *māllo*, *mīllia* (but not in *mīlle*: Pompeius, S. 127), *nōllo*, *paullum*.

162. In Latin texts there is much confusion of single and double consonants, especially before the accent: *bal(l)æna*, *buc(c)īna*, *cot(t)idie*,¹ *ec(c)lesia*,² *glut(t)īre*, *mut(t)īre*, *tap(p)ēte*, *ves(s)ica*, etc. Cf. S. 111–132, Stolz 223–224. In some words this may result merely from bad spelling; but often it must represent an actual difference in pronunciation, as seems to be the case with the doublet *cīto* > Sp. *cedo*, *citto* (*C. I. L. VIII*, 11594) > It. *petto*. Cf. § 163.

163. Many words certainly had two forms, doubtless belonging to different Latin dialects, — one with a long vowel + a single consonant, the other with a short vowel + a double consonant: *brāchium brācchium*; *būca būcca*; *camēlus camēllus*, where we have perhaps only a change of suffix, cf. § 42; *cīpus cīppus*; *cūpa, cūppa*, giving Sp. *cuba*, Fr. *cuve*, It. *cupola* and Sp. *copa*, Fr. *coupe*, It. *coppa*; *glūto glūtto*; *hōc erat hōcc erat*, S. 125–126 (Velius Longus and Pompeius); *Jūpiter Jūppiter*; perhaps *lītera līttera*; *mūcus mūccus*; *pūpa pūppa*; *stūpa stūppa*; *sūcus sūccus*. Cf. Stolz 222–225.

¹ The antiquity of double *t* is attested by an old inscription: *Lexique* 101.

² The single *c*, which prevailed in Romance, is common in Greek and Latin manuscripts: S. 129.

To these may perhaps be added: *bāca bacca*; *bāsium* **bāssium* (> It. *bascio*); *brāca bracca*; **būtis* (< βούτις) **büttis* (> It. *botte*); *cāseus* **cāsseus* (> It. *cascio*); *chāne* (< χάνη) *channe*; *conservāmus conservammus*, *Vok.* I, 261; *jubēmus jubemmus*, *Vok.* I, 261 (*iubimmus iobemmus*); *lītus littus*; *mīsi* **mīssi* (> It. *messi*).

Beside the two forms indicated, there was occasionally a third, seemingly a cross between the other two, having both the long vowel and the double consonant: *anguīla* (> Sp. *anguila*) + *anguilla* = **anguilla* (> It. *anguilla*); **stēla* (> Old Fr. *esteile*: cf. *Lexique* 95-98) + *stēlla* (> It. dialect *stēlla*) = **stēlla* (> It. *stēlla*; cf. *Vok.* I, 339, *stilla*); *strēna* (> Old Fr. *estreine*) + *strēnna* = **strēnna* (> It. *strenna*, Sic. *strinna*); *tōta* (> Sp. *toda*) + *tōtta* (Keil V, 392¹) = **tōtta* (> Pr. *tota*, Fr. *toute*).² So perhaps Diomedes' *littera*: *Archiv* XIV, 403.

164. In late Latin inscriptions and manuscripts a consonant was sometimes doubled before *r* or *u*: *acqua*, *bellua*, *frattrè*, *lattrones*, *mattrona*, *strennuor*, *suppra*, *suppremis*, *tennuis*. Cf. S. 122, Stolz 223. This doubling indicates in most cases a local pronunciation, prevalent in Africa or in Italy. According to F. G. Mohl, *Zs.* XXVI, 612, a consonant was doubled before *i* and *u* in the old Italic dialects: compare the Italian doubling in *fabbro*, *tenne*, *volle*, etc. In *acqua* the double consonant, attested by inscriptions and by Christian poets, was very widespread and prevailed in Italy, Rætia, and a large part of Gaul. See Clara Hürlimann, *Die Entwicklung des lateinischen aqua in den romanischen Sprachen*, reviewed by Meyer-Lübke in *Ltblt.* XXIV, 334.

¹ Consentius: "per adjectionem litteræ *tottum* pro *toto*." Cf. *Gram.* I, 488, § 547; *Lexique* 98-104. According to *Lat. Spr.* 485, *tottus* was used by Pirminius.

² For **tüttus* see § 204(2).

2. VOWEL QUANTITY.

165. Originally, perhaps, long and short vowels were distinguished only by duration, the vowels having, for instance, the same sound in *lātus* and *lätus*, in *dēbet* and *rēdit*, in *vīnum* and *mīnus*, in *nōmen* and *nōvus*, in *ūllus* and *mūltus*. However this may have been, long and short *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* were eventually differentiated, the short vowels being open while the long were close: *ven̄do sentio*, *pinus pip̄er*, *solus solet*, *mulus gula*. That is, for the vowels of brief duration the tongue was not lifted quite so high as for those held longer. Later, in most of the Empire, *i* and *u* were allowed to drop still lower, and became *e* and *o*: see §§ 201, 208. In the case of *a*, which is made with the tongue lying flat in the bottom of the mouth, there was no such differentiation.

According to Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr.* 467, the distinction was clear by the first century of our era. In *Vok.* I, 461, II, 146, III, 151, 212, is given the testimony of grammarians, all of later date; in *Vok.* II, 1 ff., the evidence of inscriptions. Marius Victorinus, about 350 A. D., distinguishes two *e*-sounds (S. 174, 182); Pompeius, about 480, cites Tertullian for an *e* similar to *i*, and several fifth century grammarians plainly distinguish *e* from *e* (S. 176, 182); from the second century on *æ* was often used for *e* in inscriptions (S. 183-184). Terentianus Maurus, by 250, distinguishes *o* from *o* (S. 175, 211), and so do other grammarians (S. 211). Writers do not clearly distinguish *i* and *i*, until Consentius, in the fifth century (S. 193); *e*, however, is often used for *i* in inscriptions, as *menus*, etc., and *i* for *e*, as *minses*, etc. (S. 195, 200-201). None of the grammarians apparently distinguished *u* and *u*, but *o* is used for *u* in inscriptions, as *ocsor*, *secondus*, etc. (S. 216-217).

166. In open syllables, if the word is used in verse, the quantity of the vowel is in general easily ascertained. In

closed syllables and in words not used by poets the quantity is in many cases doubtful; but it is sometimes given by grammarians, sometimes marked in inscriptions, sometimes conjectured from the etymology, and often shown by subsequent developments in the Romance languages. Occasionally the testimony conflicts: some inscriptions have *CARLSSIMO*, etc., others *KARESSIMO*, etc. (S. 98, 99); Aulus Gellius prescribes *dīctum*, but an inscription has *DICTATORI* (S. 105); Classic Latin offers *frīgīdus* (cf. *FRÍGIDA*, S. 105), but the Romance languages, except Spanish, require a short *i*; some Romance forms support Classic *nūtrīre*, others demand *ũ*; *ũndĕcim*, *lūridus*, *ũltra* were apparently pronounced also with short *u* (S. 81-82); Fr. *loir* calls for **glĭrem* beside *glĭrem*.

a. VOWELS IN HIATUS.

167. Vowels in hiatus with the last syllable offer difficulties. The Classic rule that a vowel before another vowel is short is not absolute even for verse, and the practice of poets was not always in accordance with spoken usage. *Dĭes*, *pĭus* kept their originally long vowel, attested by inscriptions (*DIES PIVS PIVS*, S. 93; cf. *Substrate* II, 101-102); so *cūi*, proved by old inscriptions; and, at least in part, *fūi*, found in inscriptions, in Plautus, and in Ennius (S. 93): these preserved their close vowel in the Romance languages.

Naturally long vowels, then, probably kept their original quantity in hiatus. Naturally short vowels doubtless had their regular development also: *dĕus* = *deus*, although we do find the spellings *dĭus* and *mius* (S. 187); *dŭo* > *dŭi* = *dŭi*; *vĭa* = *vĭa*. At a later stage, after *u* had become *o* (see §§ 165, 208), any *o* before *u* was apparently differentiated into *o*: *ōvum* > *oum* (cf. § 324) > *oum* (and also *ovum*, with a restoration of the *v* through the plural *ova*); *sŭus* > *sous* > *sous* (S.

216, Pirson 16). There may have been other special variations in different countries. Cf. § 217.

For a different theory, see *Gram.* I, 246–248. For another still, see A. Horning in *Zs.* XXV, 341.

168. *Quīa*, used for *quod* in late Latin, had a peculiar development from the sixth century on: before a vowel it was pronounced *quī'* and was confused with *quīd*, which had begun to assume the functions of *quod* (see §§ 69, 82; cf. *Franz.* 2 II, 352–355); before a consonant, under the influence of *qua* and *qua(m)*, it became *qua*. Cf. *Franz.* 2 II, 357–390; J. Jeanjaquet, *Recherches sur l'origine de la conjonction 'que' et des formes romanes équivalentes*, 1894.

169. *Plūere* was supplanted in popular usage by *plōvere* (*Lat. Spr.* 468). *Plūvia*, on the other hand, gave way to **plōja*. Cf. § 208, (4):

b. LENGTHENING BEFORE CONSONANTS.

170. According to some grammarians, vowels were lengthened before *j*, as in *ējus*, *mājor*. The Romance languages, however, point to open vowels in *pejor*, *Troja*. The apparent contradiction disappears if we accept the statement of Terentianus Maurus, 250 A. D., who says (S. 104) that the vowels in these words were short, but the *j* was doubled — that is, there was a glide from the vowel to the *j*, which prolonged the first syllable: not *pējor*, *Trōja*, but *pějor*, *Trōija*. We find in inscriptions such spellings as *Aiiax*, *coiux*, *cuiius*, *eiius*, *maiiolem*, etc.: S. 236, Pirson 74. Quintilian states that Cicero preferred *aiio*, *Maiiam*, with double *i* (S. 236). Velius Longus adds that as Cicero approved of *Aiiacem*, *Maiiam*, we should write *Troiia* also (S. 236). Priscian analyzes *pejus*, etc., into *pei-ius*, *ei-ius*, *mai-ius* (Édon 207).

171. When *n* was followed by a fricative (*f*, *j*, *s*, or *v*), it regularly fell early in Latin, and the preceding vowel was lengthened by compensation: *cēsor*, *cōjugi*, *cōventio*, *īferi*. But inasmuch as *n* occurs before *f*, *j*, and *v* only at the end of prefixes, it was usually restored by the analogy of the full forms *con-*, *in-*: so *infantem* through *indignus*, etc.; *conjugere* through *conducere*, etc.; *convenire* through *continere*, etc. Before *s*, however, *n* occurred in the middle of many words, and the fall was permanent, the *n* being restored only in compounds before initial *s*: *cōsul*, *īsula*, *mēsis*, *spōsus*; but *insignare*. Cf. § 311.

It is altogether likely that the *n* fell through nasalization of the vowel: *consul* *cōnsul* *cōsul* *cōsul*. If so, all trace of the nasality disappeared, but the length and the close quality of the vowel remained. Cf. *Archiv* XIV, 400.

Romance and late Vulgar Latin words with *ns* (except in compounds as above) are either learned terms or new formations: so *pensare*, beside the old popular **pēsare*.

See S. 77–78; for the usage of Cicero and others, S. 86; for inscriptions, S. 89.

172. (1) Vowels were apparently lengthened before *ŋk*: *quīnque*, *sānctus*, etc. Cf. S. 78; for inscriptions, S. 90.

(2) Before *gn* vowels were lengthened according to Priscian (S. 91), and inscriptions mark length in *dīgnus*, *rēgnum*, *sīgnum* (cf. *sīgillum*), S. 91. The Romance languages, however, call for *dignus*, *lignum*, *pignus*, *pugnus*, *signum*. Priscian, who wrote in the sixth century, is a very late authority, and some philologists regard the passage in question as an interpolation of still later date; still the evidence of the inscriptions remains. According to Meyer-Lübke (*Gram.* I, 54, *Lat. Spr.* 467), the vowel was lengthened, but only after *ī*, *ū* had become *i*, *u*, so that the result was *ī*, *ū*, not *ī*, *ū*; cf. *BENEGNVS*

in *C. I. L.* XII, 2153, which is doubtless equivalent to the BENIGNUS of *C. I. L.* XII, 722. This seems a very plausible explanation. C. D. Buck, however, in the *Classical Review* XV, 311, prefers to regard such forms as *dignus*, in so far as they existed at all, as due to a vulgar or local pronunciation.

c. DISAPPEARANCE OF THE OLD QUANTITY.

173. The difference in quantity was probably greater and more constant in accented than in unaccented vowels. The distinctions in quality, resulting from the original quantity, remained, in stressed syllables, through the Latin period and developed further in the Romance languages; in unaccented syllables the distinctions were doubtless weaker, and were often obliterated.

174. The old quantity itself was lost, for the most part during the Empire. It seems to have disappeared from *unstressed syllables* by the third or fourth century; but confusion set in as early as the second. The nominative singular *-īs* and the plural *-ēs* were confounded by 150 A. D. (S. 75), and *æ* was often used for *ē* in inscriptions (S. 183-184: *benæ*, etc.). Terentianus Maurus, about 250, tells us that *au* is short in unaccented syllables, as in *aut* (S. 66). Other grammarians warn against quantitative mistakes: so Servius, in the fourth century, "*miseræ* dativus est non adverbium," etc. (S. 226). The poetry of Commodian, in the third or fourth century, seems to observe quantity in stressed and to neglect it in unstressed syllables, and we find numerous metrical errors in other late poets: cf. J. Cornu, *Versbau des Commodian* in *Bausteine* 576.

On the other hand, Latin words borrowed by the Britons, mostly in the third and fourth centuries, show, through a shift of accent, the preservation of quantity in post-tonic

syllables: Loth 72, 65. Moreover, Latin words borrowed by Old High German indicate a retention of long *i* and *u* before the accent: Franz.

It is possible that the quantity of unstressed vowels was better kept in the provinces than in Italy.

175. In *accented syllables* there are sporadic examples of confusion by the second century, as *æques* for *ēques* in 197 (S. 225); but probably the disappearance of the old distinction was not general before the fourth and fifth centuries, and not complete before the end of the sixth. Servius, in the fourth century, criticizes *Rōma* (S. 106). St. Augustine declares that "Afræ aures de correptione vocalium vel productione non judicant" (*Lat. Spr.* 467). Pompeius and other grammarians blame the confusion of *æquus* and *ēquus* (S. 107, 178). Much late poetry disregards quantity altogether.

On the other hand, Latin words borrowed by the Britons from the second to the fifth century, but mostly in the third and fourth, show the preservation of the quantity of stressed vowels: Loth 64. Latin words in Anglo-Saxon, taken over in the fifth and sixth centuries, retain the quantity of vowels that bear the accent: Pogatscher. The Latin words in Old High German, too, distinguish by quantity *ī* and *ī*, *ē* and *ē*, *ō* and *ō*, *ū* and *ū*; *ē*, *ō* are distinguished by quality also, for *ē* > *ī* while *ē* > *e* or *i*, *ō* > *ū* or *ô* while *ō* > *o*: Franz.

d. DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW QUANTITY.

176. At the end of the Latin period a new system of quantity grew up, entirely diverse from the old, and based on the situation of the vowel. In most of the Empire accented vowels not in position were pronounced long, all other vowels short: *sānctō vālēs*, *vēndō vēnīs*, *dīxī plīcās*, *fōrmās fōrī*, *frūctūs*

gūlē; cā-thē-drā tē-nē-brās; cō-r mē-l nō-s rē-m trē-s. In Spain and in some parts of Gaul, *all* stressed vowels were apparently long: *tēmpūs, pōrta.*

This new pronunciation doubtless sprang up with the disappearance of the old, which it displaced. Meyer-Lübke in *Gram.* I, 561–562, says that the development was different and independent in the several Romance languages; in *Einf.* 103–104, he describes it as common to all, but as posterior to the fifth century; in *Lat. Spr.* 467, he puts it in the fourth and fifth centuries.

177. It is likely that these new long vowels were pronounced in most regions with a circumflex intonation, which in the transition from Latin to the Romance languages resulted in diphthongization in a large part of the Empire, particularly in northern Gaul: *vēnis* > It. *vieni*, *gūla* > Old Fr. *goule*, *cōr* > It. *cuor*, *nōs* > Fr. *nous*, *trēs* > Old Fr. *treis*. Portugal, southern Gaul, Lombardy, and Sicily apparently did not participate in this early breaking; and the conditions of diphthongization were very diverse in different localities. The vowels most affected were *ē* and *ō*.

An isolated example, perhaps only a blunder, occurs in an inscription made a little before 120 A. D.: NIÉPOS, beside NEPOTIS (A. Zimmermann in *Zs.* XXV, 735). In 419 A. D. we find VOBIT for *obiit* (S. 213).

D. VOWELS.

178. Latin had the vowels *ā, ē, ī, ō, ŭ*, and in unaccented syllables before a labial (as in *proximus*) a short *ü*; furthermore, the groups *æ, au, eu, ce*, also *ui*. We have seen (§ 165) that *ē, ī, ō, ŭ* were pronounced close, and *ě, ĭ, ǫ, ŭ* open, while *ā* was not affected by quantity. We shall see presently

(§§ 209, 210) that $\text{æ} > \text{e}$ and $\text{ce} > \text{e}$, while *au*, *eu* generally remained *áu*, *éu* (*cáutus*, *céu*), and *ui* (as in *cui*) was *úi*.

179. The foreign vowels of borrowed words were assimilated in some fashion to the Latin system. In the few Celtic words that were taken over there are no important peculiarities. In the Germanic vocabulary there is not much to be noted: *ai* in words adopted early apparently became *a*, as **waiðanjan* > **wadaniare*; *eu* (or *iu*) appears in *treuwa* (or *triuwa*), which became **trewa*; *iu* is found in *skiuhan* > **skivare*.

The history of Greek vowels is very complicated:—

GREEK VOWELS.

180. According to Quintilian (Édon 64–65), the Greek letters were sounded as in Greek. This pronunciation was doubtless the ideal of people of fashion, but popular speech substituted for unfamiliar vowels the sounds of the vernacular. The inconsistencies in this substitution arise partly from the different dates at which words were borrowed, partly from the channel (written or oral) through which they came, and partly from the various pronunciations of the vowels in the several Greek dialects.

181. *A*, long or short, was pronounced *ǎ*: *Φᾶσις* > *Phāsis*, *φάλαγξ* > *phǎlanx*.

182. *H* was in Greek originally a long *ē*, but early in our era it became *ī*. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin *ē*: *ἀποθήκη* > *apothēca* > It. *bottega*; so in some late words, as *βλασφημία* > *blasphēmia* > It. *bestemmia*. In words of more popular origin it often had the Greek open sound: *ἐκκλησία* > *eclēsia*; *σηπία* > *sēpia*, but also *sēpia* > It. *seppia*; *σκηνή* > *scæna* *scēna*. Late words often show *i*: *ἀσκητής* > *ascitis*, *Per*.

40, 1, etc.; ἐκκλησίαι > *ecclisīa*, Neumann 9; μοναστήριον > *monastirium*, μυστήριον > *mistirium*, etc., Claussen 854-855; ταπήτιον > Fr. *tapis*, Pr. *tapit*.

183. *E* was close in some Greek dialects, open in others. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin *ē*: γένεσις > *gēnēsis*. In popular words it was sometimes close, sometimes open: ἔρμος > *er'mus* *er'mus* > It. *ermo*, Sp. *yermo*; κέδρος > *cedrus* > It. *cedro*; πέπερι > *pēper*; Στέφανος > *Stephanus Stephanus*. Cf. Claussen 853-854.

184. *I*, at least in the principal dialects, seems to have had a very open sound, even when long. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin *ī*: φῖμός > *phīmus*; φίλος > *phīlus*. In popular words *ī* apparently became *ī*, later *e* or *ε*; *ī* apparently became *ē*, later often *e*: ἀρθρῖτικός > *arthrīticus* > It. *artetico*; ἀρτεμῖσία > *artemīsia* > Old Fr. *armeise*; βωλίτης > *boletus*; ὀρίγανος > It. *regamo*; χρῖσμα > *chrīma* > It. *cresima*, Old Fr. *cresme*; Χρῖστος > *Chrīstus Chrestus*, cf. *Christianus Chrestianus*; etc.;—ἀντίφονος > **antefona* > Old Fr. *antiefne*; βλίτον > *blītum* > It. *bieta*; μίνθη > *menta* > It. *menta*, Sp. *mienta*; σίναπι > *sīnapi* > It. *senape*; etc. Cf. Claussen 855-857.

185. *Ω* was probably *ō*, but perhaps dialectically *ō̄* (cf. ὥρα > *hōra*). In book-words it was assimilated to Latin *ō*: φώκη > *phōca*. In popular words it apparently became *o*, occasionally *u*: γλώσσα > It. *chiōsa*; πτωχός > It. *pītocco*; τρώκτης > *trūcta*. Cf. Claussen 869-870.

186. *O* in most dialects was *ō*. In book-words it was assimilated to Latin *ō*: κόφινος > *cōphīnus*; ὀρφανός > *ōrphānus*. In popular words it was generally close, but sometimes open, and occasionally the same word had both pronunciations: ἀμόργη > *amūrca*; δοχή > *dōga* > It. *doga*, etc.; κόμμι > *gūmmi*; ὀσμὴ > ? It. *orma*; πορφύρα > *pūrpūra*; τόννος > *tōnnus* > It.

torno, etc.; — κόγχη > *cõncha*; στροφή > *strõppus*; χορδή > *chõrda*; — κόλαφος > *cõlaphus cõlaphus*. Cf. Claussen 857–860.

187. *Y* was originally pronounced *u*; later in Attic and Ionic it became *ü*, which subsequently, in the 9th or 10th century, was unrounded into *i*.

In the older borrowed words, perhaps taken mostly from Doric (Claussen 865), *υ* regularly was assimilated to Latin *u* (S. 219–221): βύρσα > *bũrsa*; κρύπτη > *crũpta*; κύμβη > *cũmba*; μύλλος > *mũllus*; μύρτος > *mũrta*, *App. Pr.*; πύξος > *bũxus*. *It. busta* seems to represent a peculiar local development: cf. *buxida* (= *pyxis*) in Theodorus Priscianus and in glosses, *Lat. Spr.* 468. Cf. *Zefurus*, Audollent 536; “*tymum non tumum*,” *App. Pr.*; *Olumpus*, etc., Pirson 39. In *τρῦάνη* > *trũtĩna* the *υ* was shortened. In *ἀγκῦρα* > *ancõra*, *στύραξ* > *stõrax*, and a few other words the *υ* for some reason became *õ*; these probably have nothing to do with *καλύπτρα* > *It. calotta*, *κρύπτη* > *It. grõtta*, *μῦθος* > *It. mõtto*, in which the *õ* is a later local development. For some words we find an occasional spelling *æ*, which may represent a Greek dialect pronunciation between *u* and *ü*: γῦρος > *gyrus gærus*; Μυσία > *Mysia Mæsia*; etc.

Towards the end of the Republic, cultivated people adopted for Greek words the Ionic-Attic pronunciation, which is generally represented, in the case of *υ*, by the spelling *y*. Cicero says: “*Burrum semper Ennius, nunquam Pyrrhum*” (S. 221). According to Cassiodorus, *u* is the spelling in some words, *y* in others (S. 221). In the *App. Pr.* we find: “*Marsyas non Marsuas*,” “*myrta non murta*,” “*porphyreticum marmor non purpureticum marmor*,” “*tymum non tumum*.” Among the common people the unfamiliar *ü* was assimilated to *i*. The spelling *i* occurs sometimes before Augustus: ἀγκύλια > *ancilia*; Ὀδυσσεΐα > *Odissia*, Livius Andronicus; Ὀλυσσεύς > *Ulixes*. In inscriptions we find *misteriis*, etc., S. 221. The *App. Pr.*

has “*gyrus non girus*.” Cf. *giro*, *misterii*, etc., Bechtel 76–77; *giret*, Audollent 535; *Frigia*, etc., Pirson 39. This *i*, if long, was usually pronounced *ī*; if short, *ĭ*, which became *e*: γῦρος > It. *giro*; κῦμα > It. *cima*; σῦριγγα > It. *scilinga*; — κύκνος > It. *cecino*; etc. For σῦκωτόν, see § 141; γύψος > It. *gesso* is probably a local development. *Kv* frequently became *qui*: κολοκύντη > *colloquinta*, etc.; cf. § 223.

The modern Greek pronunciation is represented by some Romance words: ἄμυλον > It. *amido*; βυζαντίς > It. *bisante*; τύμπανον > Fr. *timbre*; etc.

Cf. Claussen 860–869.

188. *AI* originally became *ai*, as in Αἴας > *Aiax*, Μαῖα > *Maia*; later *æ* (as in αἰγίς > *ægis*), which came to be pronounced *e*, as in Αἰθιοπία > *Æthiopia Ethiopia*. Cf. Claussen 871–872.

189. *AY* > *au*: θησαυρός > *thesaurus*. Cf. Claussen 872–873.

190. *EI* was doubtless originally pronounced *ei* in Greek, then, from the sixth to the fourth century B. C., *ē*; finally, about the third century, *ī*, except before vowels. In Latin, *ei* became *ī* before consonants, *ē* or *ī* before vowels; εἰδωλον > *īdolum*; παράδεισος > *paradīsus*; πειρατής > *pīrāta*; — Κλειώ > *Clīo*; Μήδεια > *Medēa*. In *–ειος –εια –ειον*, the penult was often shortened: πλατεῖα > *platēa*. Cf. Claussen 873–875.

191. *EY* generally became *eu*: Εὐρος > *Eurus*. Such forms as “*ermēneumata non erminomata*” (*App. Pr.*), *toreomatum* from τόρευμα, may be merely misspellings: cf. *Cleopatra* for *Cleopat̄ra*. Some Romance forms show *u*: κέλευσμα > ? It. *ciurma*. Cf. Claussen 875–877.

192. *OI* originally became *oi*, as in ποινή > *poīna*; later *æ* (as in *pæna*), which came to be pronounced *e*, as in Φοῖβος > *Phæbus Phebus* (S. 277). Sometimes, however, it became *o*,

as in ποιητής > *poëta*. *Cimiterium cymiterium*, for *cœmeterium* < κοιμητήριον, perhaps indicates an ignorant confusion of *ü* and *ö*. Cf. Claussen 877–878.

Like *oi*, *ω* became *æ*: κωμωδία > *comædia*.

193. *OY* was doubtless originally pronounced *ou* in Greek, then *ō*, then *ū*. In Latin it usually became *ū*: βροῦχος > *brūchus*; οὐρανός > *Ūrānus*. Cf. Claussen 878–879.

1. ACCENTED VOWELS.

a. SINGLE VOWELS.

N.B. — For vowels in hiatus, see § 167. For nasal vowels, see § 171.

a

194. *A* regularly remained unchanged in the greater part of the Empire: *caput, dare, factum, latus, manus, patrem, tantus*. But in Gaul, especially in the north, it probably had a forward pronunciation tending somewhat toward *ɛ*: cf. *crepere, senetus, voluptate* in *Gl. Reich.*; and *agnetus* (for *agnātus*?) in *Fredegarius*, Haag 6.

195. Some words had a peculiar development:—

(1) Beside *alācrem* the Romance languages seem to postulate *alēcrem* and *alecrem*. It is possible that *ālācer* (whence *alācrem*) > **ālēc̣er* (whence *alēcrem*), then **alīcer* (whence *alīcrem alēcrem*).

(2) For the suffix *-arius*, see § 39, *-arius*.

(3) Beside *cērāsus* (< κέρασος) there must have been a Latin **cērēsus*. So beside **cērāsēsus*, which was used in southern Italy, Rome, and Sardinia, there was a *cērēsēsus*, which was used elsewhere: *Lat. Spr.* 468; cf. *Substrate I*, 544.

(4) Beside *grāvis* there was a *grēvis*, under the influence of *lēvis*: GREVE, *Lat. Spr.* 468; cf. *Substrate II*, 441.

(5) Beside *mālum* (< Doric μᾶλον) there was a *mēlum* (< μῆλον), used by Petronius and others: *Lat. Spr.* 468.

(6) Beside *vacuus* there was a *vōciuus*: *vociuam*, *C. I. L.* VI, 1527 d 33; cf. *vocatio*, *C. I. L.* I, 198, etc. Cf. S. 171, Olcott 33. The *o* was probably

original; old *vocāre*, *vocivus* regularly became *vacāre*, *vactivus* (> *vacuus*), whence by analogy *vācat* for *vocat*: *Lat. Spr.* 466. By a change of suffix *vōcuus* became **vōcītus*.

ē

196. Long *e*, which was pronounced *ē* (§ 165), probably remained unchanged in Vulgar Latin, at least in most regions: *debēre*, *dēbet*, *habētis*, *mercēdem*, *vēndere*, *vērus*.

In Sicily, Calabria, and southern Apulia *ē* has become *i*. In old Oscan, which was spoken in nearly the same region, *ē* became *i* in late Republican times, as in *cinsum*, *dibeto*, etc. (*Lexique* 106). There is, however, no proof of historical connection between the phenomena: cf. *Lat. Spr.* 468.

197. *I* is very often used for *ē* in inscriptions and late writings: Gregory the Great has *crudilitas*, *dulcido*, *ficit*, *filix*, *minsam*, *vindo*, etc., *-ido* for *-edo*, *-isco* for *-esco*, *-isimus* for *-esimus*; and conversely *ver* for *vir*, etc.: Sepulcri 193-194. Cf. S. 189-190; Carnoy 15 ff. (*ficet* in the 3d century, etc.). Also *Vok.*: for the confusion of *-ēre* and *-īre*, I, 260 ff., II, 69 ff.; for *-ēsko* and *-īsko*, I, 359-364; for *-ēlis* and *-īlis*, *-ēlius* and *-īlius*, I, 287-289; for *vindimia* instead of *vindēmia*, I, 328, III, 127 (*Lexique* 115). These spellings are due in the main to the identity of *ē* and *ī* in late pronunciation: see § 165.

A. Sepulcri, in *Studi Medievali* I, 614-615, conjectures that *s* + consonant may have tended to raise *ē* to *i*, *o* to *u*. This would account for *bistia* (= *bēstia*) found in late Latin, *Studi Medievali* I, 613; for *crisco* and other verbs in *-isco* for *-esco*; for *adimplisti*, etc.; for *fistus*, etc.;—also for *colustra*; for *conusco* and other verbs in *-usco* for *-ōsko*. Some of the *-esco* > *-isco* cases are surely due to a shift of conjugation: see §§ 414-415.

198. In Gaul this substitution of *i* for *ē* was so very common that it must signify something. It probably indicates an

extremely close pronunciation of the *e* (cf. *o*); later, in northern Gaul, this very high *e* > *ei* (*vērūm* > Old Fr. *veir*): *Lat. Spr.* 468. It is interesting to note that Celtic *ē* also became *i*: Dottin 99.

Lexique 104-105: *criscit, riges, tris, vexit*, etc. Pirson 2-5: *ficerent, ficit, requiiscit, rictu, rigna*, etc. Neumann 10-11: *adoliscens, minses, quiiscit, rigna*. Bon. 106-113: *minse, quinquaginsima*, etc. Haag 8-9: *adoliscens, criscens, ingraviscente, seniscit, tepiscit; delitus, fedilis, habitur, minsis, sidibus, stilla*, etc. Cf. *Vok. I*, 311 ff.

e

199. Short *e*, which was pronounced *ɛ* (see § 165), remained unchanged: *bēne, ĕxit, fĕrrum, fĕrus, fĕsta, tĕneo, vĕnit*.

For the development of diphthongs, see § 177.

(1) According to *Lat. Spr.* 466, *voster*, which supplanted *vester*, is to be regarded as a new formation on the model of *noster* rather than as the old form.

i

200. Long *i*, pronounced *î* (§ 165), remained unchanged: *audĭre, dĭco, mĭlle, quĭnque* (*Substrate I*, 546), *vĭlla, vĭnum*.

(1) *Frĭgidus*, except in Spain, must have become **frĭgidus* (> *frĭgĭdus*), perhaps through association with *rĭgidus*. Cf. § 166.

(2) Beside *ĭlex* there was an *ĕlex*, found in Gregory of Tours: *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* CXV, 397. Cf. *Lexique* 114.

(3) Beside *sĭcula* there was a *sĕcula* (*Lexique* 119) > It. *segolo*. Varro (*Lexique* 119) mentions a rustic *speca* for *spĭca*. It. *stegola* seems to postulate something like **stĕva* for *stĭva*.

(4) For *sĭ*, see § 229, (4).

i

201. Short *i*, pronounced *ĭ* (§ 165), became, doubtless by the third century and sporadically earlier, *ɛ* in nearly all the Empire: *bĭbo, cĭrculus, ĭlle, mĭnus, pĭscem, sĭtis, vĭtium*. The spelling *e* for *ĭ* is common from the third century on: *frecare*,

legare, menus, etc., S. 200–201; *elud* (= *illud*), Audollent 535; *minester*, etc., Pirson 8–10; *karsesemo*, etc., Carnoy 15ff.; *minester, sebe, semul, sene, vea*, Neumann 23–25; *corregia*, etc., R. 463; *accepere, trea*, etc., Bon. 117–123; *æteneris, trebus*; etc., Haag 11. Conversely *i* is often used for *ē* (cf. §§ 197, 198): *minses*, etc., S. 195; *benivulus*, etc., R. 463. Quintilian and Varro mention (S. 166) a rustic *e* for *ī*, attested also by inscriptions (S. 202).

In Sardinia and a part of Corsica this change did not take place, and both *ī* and *ī* > *i*. These two islands were taken from Rome by the Vandals in 458 and added to the African kingdom; after that they were perhaps isolated: *Einf.* 106.

In southern Italy *e* from *ī*, like *e* from *ē*, became *i*: cf. § 196.

(1) Beside *camīsia* there was a *camīsia*: *Substrate* I, 541.

(2) Beside *simul* there was a **sēmūl*, perhaps through the analogy of *sēmel*: *Lat. Spr.* 468.

(3) *Sinīster* was replaced by *sinēxter*, under the influence of *dēxter*: *Lat. Spr.* 469.

ō

202. Long *o*, pronounced *ō* (§ 165), remained unchanged in Vulgar Latin, at least in most regions: *colōrem, fōrma, hōra, nōmen, sōlus, spōnsus*. In Sicily, Calabria, and southern Apulia *ō* has become *u*, as it did in old Oscan: cf. the change of *e* to *i*, § 196.

For *agnusco, cognusco*, etc., used by Gregory the Great and others, see the end of § 197. The popular *ūstium* for *ōstium* (*Lat. Spr.* 468; *Studi Medievali* I, 613) is perhaps to be explained in this way.

For *ou* > *ou*, see § 167.

203. The spelling *u* for *ō* is very common in Gaul (*Lat. Spr.* 468): *furma*, etc., S. 214; *amure*, etc., Pirson 13; *victurias*,

etc., Bon. 126-130; *cognusco*, *gluria*, *nun*, *puni*, etc., Haag 13. It probably represents a very close sound, which later, in northern Gaul, became *ou* or *u*: *cōrtem* > Old. Fr. *court*. Cf. § 198.

204. There are a few peculiar cases:—

(1) Fr. and Sp. *meuble*, *mueble* postulate *ø* in *mōbilis*, presumably through the analogy of *mōveo*. Cf. § 217.

(2) Beside *tōtus* and *tottus* (§ 163), some of the Romance forms point to **tūtus* or **tūctus*, or at least to a nom. pl. **tūtti* or **tūcti*: It. sg. *tutto*, pl. *tutti*; Neapolitan sg. *totto*, pl. *tutto*; old Fr., Pr. sg. *tot*, pl. *tuit*. The Italian *tutto* may have come through the plural. Such a form seems to be attested by the *Gl. Cassel*: “aiatutti. uuela alle,” where *tutti* is defined as *alle*. No satisfactory explanation has been proposed; the most plausible, perhaps, is that of Mohl, *Lexique* 102-104, namely, the influence of *cūncti* on *tōti*.

ø

205. Short *o*, pronounced *ø* (§ 165), remained unchanged: *bōnus*, *fōlia*, *fōris*, *fōrum*, *lōcus*, *mōrtem*, *sōlet*, *sōrtem*. The rustic Latin *funtes*, *frundes* (for *fōntes*, *frōndes*) are perhaps connected with Italian *fonte* and other words containing *ø* for *o* before *n* + dental.

U is occasionally used for *ø* in inscriptions: *lucus*, etc., S. 211-212. Cf. *App. Pr.*, “*formica* non *furmica*.”

For the development of diphthongs, see § 177.

ū

206. Long *u*, pronounced *ū* (§ 165), remained unchanged in most of the Empire: *cūra*, *dūrus*, *nūllus*, *ūna*. Grammarians mention the protrusion of the lips: S. 216.

But in Gaul, a large part of northern Italy, and western Rætia it was probably formed a little forward of its normal position. It was certainly not *ü*, cf. K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de langue française* I, § 187; but it doubtless slightly approached it. This pronunciation may have been due to the

linguistic habits of the Celts: cf. Windisch 396–397. Celtic $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ in Great Britain by the second century; in Latin words borrowed by the Celts \bar{u} is generally treated like Celtic \bar{o} ($m\bar{u}rus > mur$), but in a few, presumably taken very early, $\bar{u} > \bar{i}$ ($c\bar{u}pa > cib$, $cr\bar{u}dus > criz$): Loth 67–68.

207. The following special cases are to be noted:—

- (1) Beside *lūrīdus* there probably was a **lūrdus*: *Substrate* III, 517.
- (2) *Nūptiæ*, through the analogy of **nōvius* ("bridegroom," from *nōvus*) and *nōra*, became *nōptiæ*: *Lat. Spr.* 469. Cf. *Substrate* IV, 134.
- (3) Beside *pūmex* there was a *pōmex*: Bon. 136, *pomice*. Cf. F. G. Mohl in *Zs.* XXVI, 617–618.

ŭ

208. Short *u*, pronounced *u* (§ 165), became, probably by the fourth century or earlier, *o* in most of the Empire: *būcca*, *cūlpa*, *gūla*, *rūptus*, *ūnda*. The spelling *o* is common in late documents: "*columna non colomna*," "*turma non torma*" (cf. "*coluber non colober*," "*formosus non formunsus*," "*puella non poella*"), *App. Pr.*; *tomolus*, etc., Pirson 15–17; *tonica*, etc., Bon. 132–135; *corso*, *covetum* (= *cūbitum*), *toneca*, Haag 14. The old spelling *o* for *u* after *v* (*voltus*, *servos*, etc.), which lasted down into the Empire, is perhaps only orthographic: *Lat. Spr.* 464.

In Sardinia, a part of Corsica, Albania, and Dacia this change did not take place, and both \bar{u} and $\bar{u} > u$: *Lat. Spr.* 467.

For *ou > ou*, see § 167.

- (1) Beside *angŭstia* there must have been **angōstia*.
- (2) Fr. *couleuvre*, *fleuve*, *jeune* call for local *o* in *colŭbra*, *flŭvium*, *jŭvenis*. There are other local irregularities. Cf. § 217.
- (3) In place of *nŭrus* we find *nōrus* (R. 465) and *nōra* (S. 216), due to the analogy of *sōror* and **nōvia* ("bride," from *nōvus*).
- (4) Instead of *plŭere* and *plŭvia* people said *plōvere* (used by Petronius and others) and **plōja*: *Lat. Spr.* 468. Cf. §§ 169, 217.

b. DIPHTHONGS.

æ

209. *Æ* was originally written and pronounced *ai*, but through the mutual attraction of its two parts it became *æ*, later *ē*: *cæcus*, *cælum*, *quæro*.

In certain words a vulgar and dialect pronunciation *ē*, common to Volscian and Faliscan (Hammer 7, 8), came into general use: *fēnum*, *prēda*, *sēpes*, *sēptum*, *sēta*. Cf. S. 166–168, 188; Carnoy 79–80. For *fēnum* *fænum*, *prēda* *præda*, *sēpes* *sæpes* both forms were preserved. Hence, by analogy, such spellings as *fæcit*, etc., S. 190. Cf. Neumann 13 (and *Fortsetzung* 21–23): *fæmina*, *quiæti*, etc.

210. The regular change of *æ* to *ē* took place largely in Republican times in unaccented syllables; in stressed syllables in the first century of our era and later. *E* for *æ* in dative endings occurs early: Corssen I, 687 ff. About the middle of the first century B. C., when Varro cited *edus* for *hædus* as a rural form, stressed *æ* was probably still a diphthong in the city but had become *ē* in rustic Latium; some hundred years later *ē* came into the city and pervaded the provinces: *Lat. Spr.* 465. Terentius Scaurus, in the first century, says that *æ* represents the sound better than *ai*: S. 224. *E* is found early in Campania, especially in Pompeii (*presta*, etc.): S. 225. In Spanish inscriptions *e* occurs from the first century on (Carnoy 78): *questus* (2d century), etc., Carnoy 69–84. It was probably general everywhere by the second century: *Einf.* § 78. Pompeius blames the confusion of *æquus* and *ēquus*: S. 178. The spelling *e* for *æ* was usual in unaccented syllables (as *sancte*) before the third century, in stressed syllables (as *questor*) from the fourth century on; it may be called regular by the fifth century: S. 178, 225. Cf. Bechtel

75-76: *cedat, grece*, etc. Conversely *æ* was often erroneously used for *ě* (S. 183-184) and for Greek *η* (as *scænam, Lexique* 104).

au

211. *Au*, pronounced *áu*, generally remained in Vulgar Latin: *aura, gaudium, taurus*. In Rumanian and Provençal it was preserved as *au*, in Portuguese as *ou*; its existence in the earliest stage of French is proved by the treatment of *c* in *causa* > *chose*; in Italian and Spanish it did not become *o* until original *o* had broken into *uo* or *ue*.

(1) The spellings *Cladius, Glacus, Scarus*, etc., with *a* for *au* when there is an *u* in the next syllable, are pretty common in various countries: S. 223; Carnoy 86-95. Perhaps they represent a provincial pronunciation, or possibly they are only orthographic.

(2) *Clūdo* for *claudo* is common, coming through derivatives, such as *occlūdo*: *Vok.* II, 304; Carnoy 100 (*cludo* in two Sp. inscriptions of the 1st and 2d centuries); Bayard 6. Cf. Carnoy 85-86 (*clusa*, etc.).

212. Umbrian and Faliscan had *o* in place of Latin *au*: Hammer 4-5, 8. So, in general, the dialects of northern and central Italy: *Chronologie* 158-164. There are some examples in Pompeii, in Oscan territory, where *au* was normally preserved; this pronunciation was used also in the country around Rome, and in the first and second centuries B.C. crept into the city, where it was used by the lower classes: *Lat. Spr.* 465-466. In Umbrian inscriptions we find *toru*, etc.: Hammer 4. In Latin, *Clodius* and *Plotus* are common in first century inscriptions: Carnoy 85, Pirson 27. *Closa*, etc., occur in the second century: Carnoy 85.

The grammarians — Probus, Diomedes, Festus, and others — speak of a rustic or archaic *o* for *au*: Corssen I, 655-663; *Vok.* II, 301 ff.; S. 162-164; Hammer 15-19. Festus cites *orum*; Priscian, *cotes, ostrum, plostrum*: Carnoy 95. Cf. *App. Pr.*, "*auris non oricla*"; R. 464, *coda, orata, orum*.

Conversely, *au* was occasionally used for *ō* (*Chronologie* 160): Festus, *ausculum*; Marius Victorinus, "*sorex vel saurex*." Cf. **aucīdere* for *occīdere*, postulated by some Romance forms.

213. This rustic and vulgar *ō*, — which was pronounced *o*, while the Romance *o* from *au* was *o*, — was generally adopted in Vulgar Latin in a few words: *cōda*; *fōces*; **ōt* (cf. Umbrian *ote*, Hammer 4) = *aut*; *plōdere*. Cf. Classic *fauces*, *suffōco*; *plaudo*, *explōdo*; *si audes*, *sōdes*. Cicero used *loreola*, *oricla*, *plodo*, *pollulum*: Carnoy 95. *Ōla*, *cōdex*, *cōles* = *caulis*, *lōtus*, *plōtus* occur also.

eu

214. *Eu*, pronounced *eu* (as in *ceu*, *eu*, *Europa*, *eurus*, *eheu*, *heu*, *neu*, *neuter*, *seu*), was not preserved in any popular words. Cf. S. 228.

œ

215. *Œ* was originally written and pronounced *oi*, but through the mutual attraction of its two parts it became presumably *ö*, later *e*: *cœpi*, *pœna*, *pœnitet*. It may be that the intermediate stage is reflected by the spelling *PHYEBÆ* for *Phœbe*, S. 227.

E is attested by inscriptions in the first century of our era: *ceperint*, Carnoy 84; *Phebus*, *C. I. L.* IV, 1890; etc. Cf. S. 227, *Lat. Spr.* 464. In the *Per.* we find *amenu*, *cepi*, etc., Bechtel 76. The confusion of *æ* and *e* is mentioned by late grammarians: S. 227. In late Latin a bad spelling, *æ* for *æ* and *e*, became popular: *cæcus*, *cælum*, *cæmenta*, *fæmina*, *fænum*, *mærore*, *mæstus*, *pænates*. Cf. S. 228; *Vok.* II, 293 ff.

ui

216. *Ui*, pronounced *úi*, was preserved: *cúi*, *húi*, *illúi*. For the development of *fui*, see § 431.

c. INFLUENCE OF LABIALS.

217. According to some philologists, a following labial tends to open a vowel: *colŭbra* > **colobra*, *flŭvium* > **flovium*, *jŭvĕnis* > **jovenis*, *mōbĭlis* > **mobilis*, *ōvum* > **ovum*, *plŭĕre* > *plōvĕre*, etc. A general influence of this kind can hardly be regarded as proved for any combination except *ou*, which became *ou*: see § 167.

S. Pieri, *La vocal tonica alterata dal contatto d'una consonante labiale* in *Archivio glottologico italiano* XV, 457, maintains that *i*, *e*, *o*, *u* were lowered one stage—to *ĕ*, *ē*, *o*, *o*—by a preceding or following labial, even if it was separated from the vowel by a liquid. Although many examples are cited, the evidence is not convincing. For a criticism of the theory, see G. Ascoli, *Osservazioni al precedente lavoro*, *ibid.*, p. 476. The discussion is continued by Pieri, *La vocal tonica alterata da una consonante labiale* in *Zs.* XXVII, 579.

d. CLERICAL LATIN.

218. In clerical Latin the vowels were probably pronounced for the most part as in vulgar speech, until the reforms of Charlemagne. After that, in general, *ā* = *a*, *ĕ* = *e*, *ī* = *i*, *ō* = *o*, *ŭ* = *u* (or *ü*), *æ* and *œ* = *e*, *au* = *o* or *au*.

2. UNACCENTED VOWELS.

N. B. — For secondary stress, see §§ 153–155.

219. Among unstressed vowels, those of the first syllable had most resistance, possibly through a lingering influence of the Old Latin accent: cf. § 134.

The vowels of the final syllable lost much of their distinctness, but did not fall, except sporadically, until long after the Vulgar Latin period, and then only in a part of the Empire.

Grammarians testify to the confusion of *o* and *u*: S. 212. *Quase, sibe* are found in place of *quasi, sibi*: S. 199–200. According to Quintilian I, iv, 7, “in *here* neque *e* plane nequi *i* auditur.”

Weakest were medial vowels immediately following the secondary or the primary stress. In early Latin there was an inclination to syncope: *ar(i)dōrem*, *av(i)dēre*, *bál(i)nĕum*, *cal(e)fácĕre*, *júr(i)go*, etc. This tendency continued, in moderation, in Classic and Vulgar Latin: *cal(i)dus*, *óc(u)lus*, *frig(i)daria*, *vĭr(i)dis*, etc. In inscriptions we find such forms as *infri*, *vetranus*: S. 251.

For the confusion of unaccented *e* and *i*, see Pirson, 30–36, 47–48; for *o* and *u*, see Pirson 41–47. Fredegarius is very uncertain in his use of unstressed vowels: Haag 15–24.

220. *Ū* was employed only before labials, in unaccented syllables: cf. S. 196–198, 203–208; Lindsay 25–26, 35; *Franz.* 2 I, 21–24. During the Classic period it generally became *ī*: *decumus* > *decimus*, *maxumus* > *maximus*, *pontufex* > *pontifex*, *quodlubet* > *quodlibet*, etc.; cf. *Lat. Spr.* 466. In Spanish inscriptions we find *maximus*, etc., spelled both with *u* and with *i*: Carnoy 65–69.

Sūmus, being sometimes accented, developed two forms, *sūmus* and *sĭmus*. The former was the one generally adopted in Classic Latin, but *sĭmus* was favored by Augustus and by some purists of his time (Lindsay 29). According to Marius Victorinus (Keil VI, 9), “Messala, Brutus, Agrippa pro *sumus sĭmus* scripserunt.” In the vulgar speech *sĭmus* seems to have prevailed in Italy and southern Gaul. Cf. § 419, (1).

221. In general Latin quantity did not sensibly affect the quality of unstressed vowels, except in initial syllables, and even there the difference must have been small. In final syllables, however, *ī* was certainly distinct from *ī*: *sentīs*,

sentit > It. *sentì, sente*; *fēcī, fēcīt* > Pr. *fīs, fes*. In *sibi, tibi* the final vowel was sometimes long, sometimes short.

a. UNACCENTED VOWELS IN HIATUS.

222. *I* and *u* followed by a vowel and beginning a syllable were apparently pronounced as consonants from the earliest times. Quintilian says that *u* and *i* in *uos* and *iam* are not vowels: S. 232. Quintilian and Velius Longus cite the spellings *Aiiax, aiio, Maiiam* as approved by Cicero: S. 236. Bonnet notes that *a*, not *ab*, is used before *Joseph, Judæis*, etc. These, then, will be treated as consonants, and will be left out of consideration in the present chapter.

223. After gutturals, *u* followed by a vowel was originally a vowel itself, but lost its syllabic value in early Classic times: *acua* > *aqua*, *distinguere* > *distinguere*. So it was in *qualis, quæro, quem, qui*. In Greek transliterations *κυ* for *qui* (as in *ἀκύλας*) is very common: Eckerling 123-125; cf. § 187.

In perfects, however, such as *nocuit, placuit*, the *u* was apparently not reduced to a semivowel until the end of the Classic period.

In some other words the syllabic value of *u* was kept, at least in theory, rather late: Velius Longus distinguishes *aquam* from *acuam*, S. 234; *App. Pr.*, "*vacua non vacua*," "*vacui non vacui*."

224. Otherwise, *e, i, and u* in hiatus with following vowels lost their syllabic value probably by the first century of our era, and sporadically earlier. Occasional examples (such as *dormio, facias, fluviorum*) are found in Ennius, Plautus, Lucilius, Lucretius, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, and Seneca: e.g., *deorsum* in Lucretius; *vindemiator* in Horace; *abiete, abietibus* in Virgil. *Italia* counts as three syllables in poets of the

early Empire. Cf. S. 232. Valerius Probus has *parietibus*: Édon 208. Consentius declares that trisyllabic *solvit* and four-syllable *induruit* are barbarisms; Cæsellius is undecided whether *tenuis* has three syllables or two: S. 234. *Suavis*, however, was used as a trisyllable by Sedulius in the fifth century; it was probably a semi-learned word, as it became *soef* in French, *soave* in Italian.

The pronunciation *ɛ̃*, *ĩ*, *ũ* was probably regular in popular speech by the first century or before; by the third century, with a narrowing of the mouth-passage, the semivowels presumably developed into the fricative consonants *y* and *w*: S. 231-232. So *alea* > *alẽa* > *alja*, *filius* > *fĩlius* > *filjus*, *sapui* > *sapũ* > *sapwi*. In the same way *filiolus* > *filjólus* (§ 136), *tenúeram* > *ténweram* (§ 137); likewise *eccu'hĩc* > **eccwĩc*, *eccu'ĩsta* > **ecwĩsta* (§ 65), etc. We have, then, in late Latin, a new *y* and a new *w*.

Hence arises, in late Latin spelling, a great confusion of *e* and *i* in hiatus: CAPRIOLVS (cf. § 136), S. 187; Caper, "non *iamus* sed *eamus*," "*sobrius* per *i* non per *e* scribendum," Keil VII, 106, 103; *aleum*, *calcius*, *cavia*, *coelia*, *fasiolus*, *lancia*, *lintium*, *noxheus*, *solia*, *vinia*, App. Pr.; *abias*, *abiat*, *exiat*, *Lauriatus*, *valiat*, Audollent 535; *palleum*, etc., R. 463; *calciare*, *liniamenta*, Bayard 4; *eacit* (= *jacet*), *eam* (= *jam*), Vok. II, 43; cf. Carnoy 33-35.

225. But the combinations *éé*, *ié*, *oó*, *uó* developed differently, *éé* and *ié* apparently being contracted into *ē*, *oó* and *uó* into *ō*, at an early date: *arĩētem* (§ 136) > *arētem* (Varro, "ares veteres pro aries dixisse": Carnoy 43); **dē-ēxcĩto* > **dēxcĩto* > It. *desto*; *faciēbam* > **facēbam*; *mulĩerem* (§ 136) > *mul'ērem*, the *ĩ* remaining long enough to palatalize the *l* (the Romance *ɛ̃* was doubtless a later analogical development); *parĩētes* (§ 136) > *parētes*, C. I. L. VI, 3714 (Rome); *prēhēndēre* >

prëndēre, then **prëndēre* through the analogy of *rëddēre* and perhaps also of *ascëndēre*, *defëndēre*, *pëndēre*, *tëndēre*; *quētus* > *quētus*, common in late inscriptions, Pirson 57 (cf. *requebit*, Carnoy 43); — *cōhōrtem* > *cōrtem*; *cōōpērīre* > *cōpērīre*, then **cōpērīre* **cōp'rīre* through the analogy of *cō-* and perhaps also of *ōpēra*, *ōpus*; *dūōdēcim* > *dōdēcim* (Pirson 58: *dodece*).

226. Furthermore, *u* after all consonants fell before unaccented *u* probably by the middle of the first century, before unaccented *o* by the second century: *antīquus* > *antīcus*; *carduus* > *cardus*; *cōquus* > *cōcus* (*App. Pr.*, “*coqui non coci*,” “*coqus non cocus*”; cf. S. 351); *distīnguunt* > *distīngunt* (according to Velius Longus, some writers use no *u* in *distinguere*, Édon 130); *ēquus* > *ēcus* (*App. Pr.*, “*equus non ecus*”; cf. Velius Longus, S. 217); *innōcuus* > *innōcus*, Koffmane 111; *mōrtuus* > *mōrtus*; *suus* > *sus*, *tuum* > *tum*, Carnoy 117; — *battuo* > *batto* (cf. *abattas*, *Gl. Reich.*); *cōquo* > *cōco* (*App. Pr.*, “*coquens non cocens*”; hence **cocīna*); *quat(t)uor* > *quattor* (S. 218) *quator* (Pirson 58) *quatro* (7th century, Carnoy 221); *quot(t)īdie* > *cottīdie*, S. 352; *stīnguo* > *stīngo*; *tīnguo* > *tīngo* (Caper, “*tinguere . . . non tingere*,” Keil VII, 106); *tōrqueo* > **torquo* > **tōrco*; *ūnguo* > *ūngo* (*ungo*, *unguntur*, *ungi*, Bayard 7; Caper, “*ungue non unge*,” Keil VII, 105; *uncis* = *unguis*, Audollent 536). So apparently *aruum* > **arum*, *ēruum* > *ērum* (*Lat. Spr.* 472: *ero*). *Vīduus*, however, doubtless under the influence of the commoner *vīdua*, kept its *u*: Old Fr. *vef*.

After gutturals, *u* fell before stressed *u* and *o*: *quum* > *cum*; *quōmōdo* > *cōmōdo*, Audollent 536. See § 354.

U often fell irregularly in *contin(u)ari*, *Febr(u)arius*, *Jan(u)arius*: *Vok.* II, 468–469; S. 217–218.

227. Similarly, *i* after a consonant fell before unaccented *i*: *audīi* > *audi*, *consīlīi* > *consīlī*, *ministērīi* > *ministērī*. Velius

Longus found it necessary to say that *Claudii*, *Cornelii*, *Julii*, etc., should be spelled with double *i*: Keil VII, 57.

Some late words, however, kept *-ī* and *-īis*: *Dionysii* > It. *Dionigi*, *Parisiis* > It. *Parigi*.

b. INITIAL SYLLABLE.

228. As far as one can judge from spellings and subsequent developments, *ā* was pronounced *a*; *æ*, *ē*, *ī*, *œ* all came to be sounded *e*; *ī* remained *i*; *ō* and *ū* were finally all pronounced *o* or *u*; *ō* remained *o*; *au* became *a* if there was an accented *u* in the next syllable, but otherwise remained unchanged (cf. *Lat. Spr.* 470): *rādīcem*, *vālēre*; *ætātem*, *dēbēre*, *tēnēre*, *vīdēre*, *fædāre*; *rīdēmus*, *cīvītātem*, *hibernus*; *plōrāre*, *frūmentum*, *sūbīnde*; *cōlōrem*, *dōlēre*, *mōvētis*; *A(u)gūstus*, *A(u)runci*, *a(u)scūlto*, *aūdēre*, *gaudēre*, *naufragium*. For the confusion of *e* and *i*, see Audollent 535, Carnoy 17-33, Bon. 135-138. Cf. *æcclesia*, Bechtel 76; "*senatus non sinatus*," *App. Pr.*; *golosus gylosus* (for *gulōsus*), Koffmane 110; *moniti* (for *mūnīti*), Bon. 136. *Agustus* is frequent from the second century on, S. 223 (cf. *agustas*, Pirson 26); *Arunci* occurs in manuscripts of Virgil; Caper says "*ausculata non asculata*," S. 223; **agūrium* must have existed also.

229. In a few words the vowel of the initial syllable was lost before an *r*: **corrōtūlare* > **c'rōt'lare*; *dīrēctus* generally > *d'rēctus* (*Vok.* II, 422: *driectus*); *quīrītare* > **c'rītare*. *Jejūnus* after prefixes lost its first syllable: **dis-junare*.

Some minor peculiarities are to be noted: —

(1) *A* after *j* apparently tended to become *e*: Old Latin *jajūnus* > Classic *jejūnus* (the original *a* seems to be preserved in some Italian dialect forms); Classic *Januarius* > *Jenuarius* (common in inscriptions, S. 171-172, *Lat. Spr.* 470); Classic *janua* > **jenua* > Sardinian *genna*.

(2) *E*, long or short, is very often replaced by *i* in Gallic inscriptions (*Lat. Spr.* 470): *divota*, *mimoriæ*, etc.; *dilevit*, Bon. 109; cf. *Vok.* I,

422-424. This perhaps indicates a close pronunciation: cf. § 198. *Di-* for *de-*, possibly through confusion with *dis-*, is common in Gregory the Great: *dirivare*, etc. According to Mohl, *Lexique* 105-108, *e* became *i* in southern Italy from the fourth to the sixth century: *RIVOCAVERIT*, etc. A form *ni* for *ne* is found from early times: Pirson 3.

(3) *Ī* was occasionally assimilated to a following accented *a*: *gġántem* > **jagante* > Old Fr. *jaiant*, Pr. *jaian*, Old Genoese *zagante*; *sġlváticus* > *salvaticus* (*Gl. Reich.*, cf. *Lat. Spr.* 470) > Old Fr. *salvage*, It. *salvatico*, Rum. *sălbatec*. Cf. *Einf.* § 111.

(4) *Ī* tended to become *e*, by dissimilation, if there was an accented *ī* in the next syllable:¹ *dġvġdġre* > **devġdġre*; *dġvġnus* > *devġnus*, in fourth century inscriptions, *Lexique* 122; *fġnġre* > *fenġre*, in manuscripts and inscriptions, *Lexique* 123; *vġcġnus* > *vecġnus*, attested by Servius, *Lexique* 104 ff. *Sġ*, in late Latin, sometimes became *se*, attested from the sixth century on (*Vok.* II, 87; *Lexique* 120; *Franz.* 2 II, 224 ff.; Bon. 126; Haag 11; cf. *nise*, *C. I. L.* I, 205); in very late texts there is frequent confusion of *si* and *sed* (*Franz.* 2 II, 225, 234-235); the *e* is perhaps due to the analogy of **que* < *quġd* = *quod* (cf. §§ 69, 82), cf. Italian *sed* on the model of *ched*: *si* is preserved in French, Provençal, and Spanish, *se* in Portuguese, Old French, Italian, and Old Rumanian. In *mġrabġlia* the *ī* apparently became *e* and *a*.

(5) *Ū* was kept by analogy in many words: *dŭrare*, *mŭrare*, *mŭtare*, *nŭtrire* (beside **noġtrire*). *Jŭnġpġrus* > *jenġperus* (*Lat. Spr.* 470) and *jġnġperus* (*App. Pr.*).

(6) *O* appears as *u* in *furmica* (*App. Pr.*, cf. *Rom.* XXXV, 164), *putator* (*Bon.* 127), *turrente* (*Bon.* 131). *O* is changed to *e* in *retundus* (*Vok.* II, 213; cf. Vitruvius, *retundatio*, *Lat. Spr.* 470), through the influence of the prefix *re-*; also sometimes in *serore* (*Lat. Spr.* 470; cf. *serori*, *seroribus*, Carnoy 107).

(7) *Au* in vulgar speech was often replaced by *o* (cf. §§ 212, 213): *orġcla*, *App. Pr.*, Pirson 27; so **ot* (for *aut*: cf. Umbrian *ote*, Lindsay 40), which prevailed in Vulgar Latin.

230. *S* before a consonant was doubtless long and sharp, as in modern Italian, so that at the beginning of a word it had a syllabic effect — *s-chola*. This led to the prefixing of a front vowel (until the seventh century nearly always an *i*, later

¹ Mohl's view, *Lexique* 122-126, is that original Latin *ei*, if *i* followed, became *e* instead of *ī*.

often *e*) to the *s* when no vowel preceded — *in i-schola*. This *i* or *e* came to be regarded as a regular part of the word. The prosthetic vowel occurs first in Greek inscriptions. The earliest Latin example is probably *iscolasticus*, written in Barcelona in the second century; it is found repeatedly, though not frequently, in the third century (Carnoy 114-116); in the fourth and fifth it is very common: *espiritum*, *ischola*, *iscripta*, *isperabi*, *ispose*, *istatuam*, *istudio*, S. 317; *ismaragdus*, Pirson 60; *estatio*, *Estephanus*, *iscola*, *istare*, R. 467. Grammarians took no note of it until St. Isidore, in the seventh century. But in late Latin texts *ab* rather than *a* was used before words beginning with *sc*, *sp*, *st*: *ab scandalo*, Dubois 171; *ab sceleribus*, Bon. 445; cf. Dubois 171-172, Bon. 445-446.

The *es-*, *is-* thus produced was confounded with *ex-*, *exs-* (pronounced *es-*) and *ins-*, *his-* (pronounced *is-*): *explendido*, *splorator*, *instruo* for *struo*, *Spania*, etc., S. 317; *hispatii* for *spatii*, Bechtel 78; *spiratio* for *inspiratio*, Koffmane 109; *scalciare* for *excalceare*, *scoriare* for *excoriare*, *spandere* for *expandere*, *Spania*, *Spanus*, *stantia* for *instantia*, *strumentum*, etc., R. 469-470; *spectante* for *expectante*, etc., Bon. 148. Cf. *Vok.* II, 365 ff.; S. 316-319; Pirson 59-60.

c. INTERTONIC SYLLABLE.

N. B.—By this term is meant the syllable following the secondary and preceding the primary stress.

231. Vowels so situated probably became more and more indistinct towards the end of the Empire, and occasionally disappeared. In some regions they began to fall regularly before the close of the Vulgar Latin period, but *a* was generally kept: *bón(i)tátem*, *cáp(i)tális*, *cárr(i)cáre*, *cérebéllum*, *cív(i)tátem*, *cóll(o)cáre*, *cómparáre cómpéráre*, *dél(i)cátus*, *dúb(i)táre*, *éleméntum éliméntum*, *frígidária frigidária*, *mírabília*,

sacramentum, *séparáre séperáre*, *vérecúndia*. *Frigdaria* occurs in the second century B. C.: *Franz*, 2 I, 12. Cf. *dedcavit*, *Pirson* 52; *vetranus*, *Pirson* 51; *cornare* for *coronare*, *Koffmane* 111; *stablarius*, *R.* 467. The fall of the vowel of course disturbed the Vulgar Latin rhythm: see § 153. Cf. *F. Neumann* in *Zs.* XIV, 559.

Ministĕrium apparently became *minstĕrium* early enough for the *n* to fall before the *s*: see § 171. Cf. *Substrate* IV, 116.

d. PENULT.

232. The Vulgar Latin rhythmic principle tended to obliterate one of the two post-tonic syllables of proparoxytones. The penult, being next to the accent, was weaker and more exposed to syncope. We find in late Latin much confusion of *e* and *i*: *anemis*, *meretis*, etc., *Neumann* 22; *dixemus*, etc., *Bon.* 118. Likewise *o* and *u*: *ambolare*, etc., *R.* 464; *insola*, etc., *Bon.* 131-135; cf. *Sepulcri* 201-202.

The treatment of this vowel, however, was apparently very inconsistent in Vulgar Latin, and the conditions differed widely in different regions. There was probably a conflict between cultivated and popular pronunciation, both types often being preserved in the Romance languages: thus while the literary and official world said (*h*)*ŏmĭnes* (> *It. uomini*), the uneducated pronounced '*ŏm'nes* (> *Pr. omne*); similarly beside *sŏcĕrum* there was *sŏcrum*.

As far as the general phenomena can be classified, we may say that in popular words in common speech the vowel of the penult tended to fall under the following conditions:—

(1) BETWEEN ANY CONSONANT AND A LIQUID.

233. A vowel preceded by a consonant and followed by a liquid weakened and fell in the earlier part of the Vulgar

Latin period: *altra*; *anglus*; *aspra*; *dedro* for *déderunt*, *Lexique* 63; *fecrunt fecru*, *Lexique* 64; *ins(u)la*; *juglus*; *maníplus*; *socro*, Pirson 51. In some words we find *a* weakened to *e*: *citera*, *App. Pr.*; *hilerus*, Carnoy 12; *Cæseris*, *compera*, *seperat* (about 500 A. D.), *Vok.* I, 195-196; *Eseram* for *Isaram*, Bon. 96. For a vowel between a *labial* and a liquid, see (2) below.

But if the first consonant was a palatal, the vowel seems to have been kept, at any rate in some regions: *bájulus*, *frágilis*, *grácilis*, *virginem*. In *vígilat* > **vǐglat* the vowel fell before the *g* began to be palatalized (so apparently in *digitum* > *dic-tum*, *Franz.* 2 I, 15-16; *frigidus* > *frígdus*, *App. Pr.*). Cf. § 259.

234. Latin originally had the two diminutive endings *-clus* (< *-tlo*), as in *sæclum*, and *-cŭlus* (< *-co-lo*), as in *auricŭla*. These were kept distinct by Plautus. Later they were confused, both becoming *-cŭlus* in Classic Latin, both *-clus* in vulgar speech: *artíc(u)lus*, *bác(u)lus*, *másc(u)lus*, *óc(u)lus*, *spéc(u)lum*, *vernác(u)lus*, *víc(u)lus*. *Oclus* and some others occur in Petronius: see W. Heræus, *Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen*, 1899; cf. *peduclum*, Waters Ch. 57. Many examples are found in inscriptions: *oclos*, *scaplas*, Audollent 538; *aunclus*, *felicla*, *masclus*, Pirson 49-50. Cf. *Franz.* 2 I, 16-18.

To *-clus* was assimilated in popular Latin the ending *-tŭlus*: *capítulus* > **capiclus*; *fístula* > **físcŭla*; *vétulus* > *veclus*, *App. Pr.* (cf. *vitlus*, Pirson 51). But a few words, which must have been slow in entering the common vocabulary, escaped this absorption: *crústulum* > *crustlum* (found in 18 A. D.); *spatula* > **spatla*. Cf. § 284.

(2) BETWEEN A LABIAL AND ANY CONSONANT.

235. A vowel preceded by a labial and followed by a consonant was inclined to fall early: *bublus*; *cóm(i)tem*; *comp'tus*;

déb(i)tum; *dóm(i)nus*; *fíb(u)la*; *póp(u)lus*; *sablum*; *tríb(u)la*; *vápulo baplo*. In *dóm(i)nus* the *mn* form may be the older: *domni*, Pirson 50; *domnus* in St. Augustine, Koffmane 109; *domnicus*, R. 467; *domnulus*, Koffmane 111. *Lamna* occurs in Horace and Vitruvius, *Franz.* 2 I, 13. Petronius has *bublum*, Waters Ch. 44, *offla*, Waters' Ch. 56. Cf. *fíbla*, *poplus*, *sablum*, etc., in R. 467.

In some words, however, the vowel was kept, either everywhere or in a large region: *árb(o)rem*; *hámula*; *hóm(i)nes*; *júv(e)nis*; *nébula*; *trémulat*.

236. When *ab* or *av* was brought next to a consonant by the fall of a following vowel, it generally became *au*, but often there were double forms; the process began very early: **ávica* > *auca*, found in glosses; *ávidus* > *audus*, Plautus (cf. *avunculus* > *aunculus*, Plautus); **clávido* > *claudo* (cf. **navifragus* > *naufragus*); *fábula* > **faula* **fabla*; *gábata* > **gauta* **gabta*; **návitat* > **nautat*; *parábula* > **paraula* **parabla*; *tábula* > **taula* **tabla*. Cf. *Franz.* 2 I, 12.

(3) BETWEEN A LIQUID AND ANY CONSONANT.

237. A vowel preceded by a liquid and followed by a consonant was subject to syncope at all periods: *ardus*, Plautus; *caldus*, Plautus, Cato, Varro, Petronius; *col(a)phus* (cf. *percolopabat*, Waters Ch. 44; *colpus*, *Gl. Reich.*); *fúlica fulca*, *Franz.* 2 I, 13; *lardum*, Ovid, Martial, Juvenal, Pliny; *merto*, Pirson 51, *Franz.* 2 I, 15; *soldus*, Cæsar, Horace, Varro; *valde*; *viridis*, *App. Pr.* (cf. *viridiaria*, Vegetius, 4th century). Cf. *Franz.* 2 I, 12 ff.

(4) MISCELLANEOUS.

238. In some words the vowel fell under different conditions: *digitum* > *dictum*, *Franz.* 2 I, 15-16 (cf. § 233); *frigidus*

> *frigidus* (cf. § 233), *App. Pr.* (*fricda*), Pompeii (FRIDAM); *máxima* > *masma*, 2d century, Suchier 732; *nítidus* > **nittus*, *pútidus* > **puttus*, probably late; *postus*, Lucretius, Pirson 50, Franz. 2 I, 13-14 (cf. *posturus*, Cato).

239. In the transition from Vulgar Latin to the Romance languages the vowels in classes (1), (2), (3),—in so far as they had not fallen already,—were syncopated with some regularity; and a number of vowels otherwise placed fell under different conditions in various regions: *pónere* > **ponre*, *tóllere* > **tolre*; *fémína* > **femna*, *hábitus* > **abtus*, *rápidus* > **rapdus*; *cárrico* > **carco*, *cléricus* > **clercus*, *cóllocat* > **colcat*; *déc(i)mus*, *fráx(i)nus*, *pérs(i)ca*, *séd(e)cim*. Cf. *Gl. Reich.*: *carcatu*s, *culicet culcet* = *collōcat*.

In a part of Gaul *ámita* > **anta*, *débita* > **depta*, *domínica* > **dominca*, *mánica* > **manca*, *sémita* > **senta*. Some of these shortened forms were used in other regions.

A vowel preceded by *d* or *t* and followed by *c* seems to have remained longer than most other vowels that fell at all: *júdico*, *médicus*, *viáticum*, *víndico*, etc.

e. FINAL SYLLABLE.

240. The vowels regularly remained through the Vulgar Latin period. Later, about the eighth century, they generally fell, except *a* and *ī*, in Celtic, Aquitanian, and Ligurian territory.

241. In the *App. Pr.* we find "*avus* non *aus*," "*flavus* non *flaus*," "*rivus* non *rius*." *Aus* and *flaus* have left no representatives, but *rius* is evidently the ancestor of Italian and Spanish *rio*. All three forms are probably examples of a phonetic reduction that affected certain regions.

Through a large part of the Empire *-āvit* > *-aut*: *triumphaut* is found in Pompeii. See Morphology.

242. Final vowels, as in modern Italian, must have been often elided or syncopated in the interior of a phrase, especially *e* after liquids: *Caper*, "*bibere non biber*"; *haber* in an inscription; *conder*, *præber*, *prædiscer*, *tanger* in manuscripts. See *Franz*. 2 I, 41. So, perhaps, *autumnal(e)*, *tribunal(e)*, etc.

The *App. Pr.* has "*barbarus non barbar*," "*figulus non figel*," "*masculus non mascel*." These curious forms are probably not the result of a phonetic development, but are rather due to a local change of inflection, which left no trace in the Romance languages. Cf. Old Latin *facul* = *facilis*, *famul* = *famulus*.

243. *A*, long or short, was naturally pronounced *a*; *æ*, *ě*, *ĩ*, according to the testimony of numerous inscriptions (*Lat. Spr.* 469), were all probably sounded *e*, which in Sicily became eventually *i*; *ī* remained *i*; *ō* was *o*, which became *u* in Sicily; *ũ* was *u*. In some localities this *o* and this *u* were kept distinct, but generally they were confounded (*Lat. Spr.* 469). Examples: *āmās*, *āmāt*; *sanctæ*, *trīstēs*, *trīstēm*, *trīstīs*; *fēcī*, *bōnī*, *sēntīs*; *bōnōs*, *mōriōr*; *cōrpūs*, *frūctū*. About the eighth century *a* probably became *ə* in northern Gaul.

244. The changes in pronunciation led to great confusion in spelling. It is likely that final vowels were especially obscure in Gaul in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Neumann 7-8 cites ten cases of *e* for *a*: *Italice*, etc.

E and *æ*, in late Latin, were not usually distinguished (cf. § 210): *apte* = *aptæ*, *cotidiæ*, etc., Bechtel 75-76.

E and *i* came to be used almost indiscriminately. Quintilian I, vii, says that Livy wrote *sibe* and *quase*; in I, iv and I, vii, he describes the final vowel of *here* as neither quite *e* nor quite *i*. Cf. *mihe*, *tibe*, etc., *Lexique* 118. *E* for *i* is frequent in the dative and ablative, Carnoy 45: *luce*, dative; *uxore*, ablative.

Es and *is* are continually interchanged: *Vok.* I, 244 ff., III, 116; *mares* = *maris*, etc., Audollent 535; *Joannis*, etc., Neumann 11-13; *jacis*, *omnes* = *omnis* (3d century), etc., Carnoy 13-15; *regis* = *reges*, etc. Bon. 111; *omnes* = *omnis*, etc., Bon. 121. So *et* and *it*: Bechtel 88-89, very common in *Per.*; *tenit*, etc., Neumann 11-13; *posuet*, etc., Carnoy 13; *movit*, etc., Bon. 115; Sepulcri 229-230.

With *o* and *u* it was the same. In *Vok.* II, 91 ff., there are 61 examples of *u* for ablative *o* between 126 and 563 A. D., as well as frequent instances of ablative in *um*, of *om* for *um*, *os* for *us*, and *us* for *os*. The confusion of *o* and *um* is very common in *Per.*; also in Gregory the Great, Sepulcri 203-204; cf. Carnoy 48, *monumento* = *monumentum*. Bon. 131, has *spoliatur* for *spoliator*. *Os* and *us* were interchanged from the third century on: *anus* = *annos*, Carnoy 48; *bonus* = *bonos*, etc., Sepulcri 201. The accusative plural in *us* was particularly common in Gaul: *filius* = *filios*, etc., Bon. 128; cf. Haag 42.

245. In words often used as proclitics final *-er*, *-or* became *-re*, *-ro*: *inter* > **intre*; *quat(u)or* > *quatro*, Carnoy 221; *sēper* > **sempre*; *sūper* > **supre*. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 474.

Minus, used as a prefix (cf. § 29) as in *minus-pretiare*, became in Gaul *mis-*, perhaps at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, under the influence of *dis-*. Cf. *Phon.* 43-44.

E. CONSONANTS.

246. The Latin consonant letters were B, C, D, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Z. *I* and *V* were used both for the vowels *i* and *u* and for the consonants *j* and *v*. *K*, an old letter equivalent to *C*, was kept in some formulas; it need

not be separately considered. *Q* was generally used only in the combination *QV* = *kw* (cf. § 223). *X* stands for *ks*. *Z* in Old Latin apparently meant *s* or *ss* (S. 319–320); later it represented a different Latin version of Greek ζ, which will be treated below (§§ 338–339).

In addition to the above, Vulgar Latin had a new *w* and *y* coming from originally syllabic *u*, *e*, or *i* in hiatus: see § 224. In words borrowed from Greek and German there were several foreign consonants, which will be discussed after the native ones.

247. Double consonants regularly kept their long pronunciation: *annus*, *nullus*, *passus*, *terra*, *vacca*. For *ss* > *s* and *ll* > *l* after long vowels, see § 161. For double forms like *cīpus cīppus*, see §§ 162, 163.

In late spelling there is some confusion of single and double consonants: *anos*, Pirson 88; *fillio*, Pirson 85; *serra*, Bon. 158; cf. Pirson 83–91. For Fredegarius see Haag 39–40. Double consonants are often written single in early inscriptions.

248. The principal developments that affected Latin consonants may be summed up as follows: *b* between vowels was opened into the bilabial fricative β, and thus became identical with *v*, which also changed to β; *c* and *g* before front vowels were palatalized and were then subject to further alterations; *h* was silent; *m* and *n* became silent at the end of a word, and *n* ceased to be sounded before *s*. The voicing of intervocalic surds began during the Vulgar Latin period.

The consonants will now be considered in detail, first the native Latin, next the Greek, lastly the Germanic; the Celtic need not be separately studied. The Latin consonants will be taken up in the following order: aspirate, gutturals, palatals, dentals, liquids, nasals, sibilants, labials.

1. LATIN CONSONANTS.

a. ASPIRATE.

249. *H* was weak and uncertain at all times in Latin, being doubtless little or nothing more than a breathed on-glide: S. 255-256. Grammarians say that *h* is not a letter but a mark of aspiration: S. 262-263. There is no trace of Latin *h* in the Romance languages. Cf. G. Paris in *Rom.* XI, 399.

250. It probably disappeared first when medial: S. 266. Quintilian commends the spelling *deprendere*: S. 266. Gellius says *ahenum*, *vehemens*, *incohare* are archaic; Terentius Scaurus calls *reprehensus* and *vehemens* incorrect, and both he and Velius Longus declare there is no *h* in *prendo*: S. 266. Probus states that *traho* is pronounced *trao*: Lindsay 57. Cf. *App. Pr.*, "*adhuc non aduc.*" In inscriptions we find such forms as *aduc*, *comprendit*, *cortis*, *mi*, *nil*, *vemens*: S. 267-268.

251. Initial *h* was surely very feeble and often silent during the Republic. In Cicero's time and in the early Empire there was an attempt to revive it in polite society, which led to frequent misuse by the ignorant, very much as happens in Cockney English to-day: for the would-be elegant *chommoda*, *hinsidias*, etc., of "Arrius," see S. 264.

Quintilian says the ancients used *h* but little, and cites "*ædos ircosque*": S. 263. Gellius quotes P. Nigidius Figulus to the effect that "*rusticus fit sermo si aspires perperam*"; but speaks of bygone generations—i.e., Cicero's contemporaries—as using *h* very much, in such words as *sepulchrum*, *honera*: S. 263-264. Pompeius notes that *h* sometimes makes position, as in *terga fatigamus hasta*, sometimes does not, as in *quisquis honos tumuli*: Keil V, 117. Grammarians felt obliged to discuss in detail the spelling of words with or without *h*: S. 264-265.

H is dropped in a few inscriptions towards the end of the Republic: *arrespex* (for *haruspex*), etc., S. 264. In Rome are found: *E[REDES]*, *C. I. L. I*, 1034; *ORATIA*, *C. I. L. I*, 924; *OSTIA*, *C. I. L. I*, 819. In Pompeii *h* is freely omitted; and after the third century it is everywhere more or less indiscriminately used: *abeo*, *abitat*, *anc*, *eres*, *ic*, *oc*, *omo*, *ora*, etc., *haram*, *hegit*, *hossa*, etc., S. 265–266. Cf. *ospitium*, *ymnus*, etc., *heremum*, *hiens*, *hostium*, etc., Bechtel 77–78; *ortus*, etc., *hodio*, etc., R. 462–463.

252. After *h* had become silent, there grew up a school pronunciation of medial *h* as *k*, which has persisted in the Italian pronunciation of Latin and has affected some words in other languages: *michi*, *nichil*, Bechtel 78, R. 455. Cf. E. S. Sheldon in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* I (1892), 82–87.

b. GUTTURALS.

253. *C* and *K* did not differ in value except that *C* sometimes did service for *G*: *App. Pr.*, “*digitus non dicitus*”; *dicitos* = *digitos*, Audollent 536; cf. S. 341–344. There was some confusion, too, of *Q* and *C*: S. 345.

254. *QV* was pronounced *kw*: S. 340–341, 345–346, 350–351. Before *u* and *o*, however, the *kw* was reduced to *k* by the first or second century, probably earlier in local or vulgar dialects: Quintilian VI, iii, records a pun of Cicero on *coque* and *quoque*; *condam*, *cot*, *cottidie*, S. 351–352; *in quo ante* = *inchoante*, *quooperta* = *coperta*, *secuntur*, Bechtel 78–79. Cf. § 226.

Before other vowels the *kw* was regularly kept in most of the Empire, unless analogy led to a substitution of *k*, as in *coci* for *coqui* through *cocus*: see § 226. But in Dacia, south-eastern Italy, and Sicily subsequent developments point to a Vulgar Latin reduction of *que* to *ke*, *qui* to *ki*: *Lat. Spr.* 473.

In *quinque* the first *w* was lost by dissimilation: CINQVE, Carnoy 221, found in Spain (so CINQV, *Lexique* 93); CINCTIVS, CINQVAGINTA, S. 351. *Laqueus* seems, for some reason, to have become **laceus*: *Substrate* III, 274.

255. *X* stood for *ks*: S. 341, 346, 352. After a consonant *ks* early tended to become *s*: Plautus uses *mers* for *merx*; Caper, "*cal*s dicendum, ubi materia est, per *s*," Keil VII, 98.

By the second or third century *ks* before a consonant was reduced to *s*: *sestus* is common in inscriptions, cf. Carnoy 170, Eckinger 126 (Σέστος); *destera*, Carnoy 171; *dester*, S. 353; *mextum* for *mæstum*, Audollent 537. So *ex*->*es*- in *excutere*, *exponere*, etc.: cf. *extimare* for *æstimare*, Bechtel 139. Hence sometimes, by analogy, *es*- for *ex*- before vowels, as in **essagium*, but not in *exire*.

At about the same time final *ks* became *s*, except in monosyllables: *cojus*, *conjus*, *milex*, *pregnax* = *prægnans*, *subornatris*, etc., in inscriptions, S. 353 (cf. *xanto*, etc.); *felis*, fifth century, Carnoy 159; *App. Pr.*, "*aries non ariex*," "*locuples non lucuplex*," "*miles non milex*," "*poples non poplex*."

In parts of Italy *ks* between vowels was assimilated into *ss* by the first century, but this was only local: ALESAN[DER], S. 353; BISSIT BISIT VISIT = *vixit*, S. 353. For *ks* > *χs*, see § 266.

There are some examples, in late Latin, of a metathesis of *ks* into *sk*: *axilla* > *ascella*, Lindsay 102; *buxus* > **buscus*; *vixit* > *vixcit* (i. e., *viscit*), Carnoy 157. Cf. *Vok.* I, 145. On the other hand, *Priscilla* > *PRIXSILLA*, Carnoy 158. In northern Gaul apparently *sk* regularly became *ks*, as in *cresco*, *nasco*, etc.: see *Mélanges Wahlund* 145.

256. The voicing of intervocalic surds doubtless began as early as the fifth century; it is shown by Anglo-Saxon borrowings and by such Latin forms as *frigare*, *migat* in inscriptions

and manuscripts; there are many examples from the sixth century: *Lat. Spr.* 474. A. Zimmermann, *Zs.* XXV, 731, finds in inscriptions some slight evidence of a change of *t* to *d* during the Empire, in some places perhaps as early as the first century. According to Loth 21-26, intervocalic *c*, *p*, *t* were voiced in Gaul in the second half of the sixth century. Rydberg, *Franz.* 2 I, 32, maintains, on the evidence of inscriptions and manuscripts, that *t* > *d* in the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth, while *c* > *g* at least two centuries earlier. Cf. *Vok.* I, 125 ff.; *immudavit*, 2d century, Carnoy 121; *eglesia*, *lebra*, *pontivicatus*, 7th century, Carnoy 123; *negat*, *pagandum*, etc., *sigricius* = *secretius*, etc., Haag 27; *cubidus*, *occubavit*, etc., *stubri*, etc., Haag 27-28; *cataveris* = *cadaveris*, etc., Haag 28-29. Some of the above examples show that consonants followed by *r* shared in the voicing, at least as early as the seventh century.

Voicing was not general, however, in central and southern Italy, Dalmatia, and Dacia.

257. Initial *c* and *cr*, in a few words, became *g* and *gr*: **gaveola*; **gratis*; *crassus* + *grossus* > *grassus*, found in the 4th century. Cf. Densusianu 111-112.

(1) C AND G BEFORE FRONT VOWELS.

258. Before the front vowels *e* and *i* the velar stops *k* and *g* were drawn forward, early in the Empire or before, into a mediopalatal position—*k'*, *g'*. *G* seems to have been attracted sooner than *k*: in Sardinian we find *k* before *e* or *i* preserved as a stop while *g* is not—*kelu*, *kena*, *kera*, *kima*, *kircare*, *deghe* < *decem*, *noghe* < *nucem*, but *reina*, etc.

In Central Sardinia, Dalmatia, and Illyria *k'* went no further, and in Sicily, southern Italy, and Dacia the *k'* stage was apparently kept longer than in most regions: *Lat. Spr.* 472.

259. *G'* by the fourth century had become præpalatal and had opened into *y*, both in popular and in clerical Latin: *Gerapolis* for *Hierapolis*, *Per.* 61, 3; "*calcostegis non calcosteis*," *App. Pr.*; *CON.GI.GI = conjugi*, *S.* 349; *geiuna = jejuna*, *Stolz* 275, *Neumann* 5, *Lat. Spr.* 473; *GENVARIVS*, *S.* 239; *GENARIVS*, *Pirson* 75; *agebat = aiebat*, *Ienubam = Genavam*, *ingens = iniens*, *Bon.* 173; *agebat = aiebat*, *agere = aiere*, *Sepulcri* 205; *Gepte*, *Tragani*, *Troge*, *Haag* 33; *iesta*, *D'Arbois* 10. Before this happened, *frīgīdus* in most of the Empire had become *frīgdus* (*App. Pr.*, "*frigida non fricda*"), *vīgīlat* had become **vīglat*, and *dīgītus* in some places had become *dīctus* (*Fränz.* 2 I, 15-16): cf. § 233.

This *y*, when it was intervocalic, fused, in nearly all the Empire, with the following *e* or *i* if this vowel was stressed: *magīster* > **mayīster* > *maēster*; so **pa(g)é(n)sis*, *re(g)ína*, *vi(g)ínti*, etc.; similarly perhaps the proclitic *ma(g)is*. Cf. *Agrientum*, *βελεντι = viginti*, *μαειστρο*, etc., *Vok.* II, 461 (cf. *maestati*, *Vok.* II, 460); *trienta*, *S.* 349, *Pirson* 97; *quarranta = quadraginta*, *Pirson* 97; *āliens*, *colliens*, *diriens*, *negliencia*, *Haag* 34; *recolliendo*, etc., *F. Diez*, *Grammaire des langues romanes* I, 250. After the accent, and after a consonant, the *y* regularly remained, except when analogy forced its disappearance (as in *colliens* through **colliente*, etc.): *légit*, *léges*, *plángit*, *argéntum*. But sometimes it fused with a following *i* in proparoxytones: *roitus* (= *rógitus* = *rogátus*), *Vok.* II, 461.

Spain, a part of southwestern Gaul, and portions of Sardinia, Sicily, and southwestern Italy remained at the *y* stage; elsewhere the *y* developed further in the Romance languages. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 473.¹

¹ Some light is thrown on the later clerical pronunciation by a statement in a fragment of a tenth century treatise on Latin pronunciation, *Thurot* 77, to the effect *g* has "its own sound" (i.e., that of English *g* in *gem*) before *e* and *i*, but is "weak" before other vowels.

260. *K'* as early as the third century must have had nearly everywhere a front, or præpalatal, articulation: *k'entu*, *duk'ere*. The next step was the development of an audible glide, a short *y*, between the *k'* and the following vowel: *k'yentu*, *duk'yere*. By the fifth century the *k'* had passed a little further forward and the *k'y* had become *t'y*: *t'yentu*, *duťyere*. Through a modification of this glide the group then, in the sixth or seventh century, developed into *t's'* or *ts*: *t's'entu* or *tsentu*.

Speakers were apparently unaware of the phenomenon until the assibilation was complete. There is no mention of it by the earlier grammarians: S. 340. In the first half of the third century some writers distinguish *ce*, *ka*, and *qu*, apparently as præpalatal, mediopalatal, and postpalatal; in the fifth century we find BINTCENTE, INTCITAMENTO: P. E. Guarnerio in *Supplementi all'Archivio glottologico italiano* IV (1897), 21-51 (cf. *Rom.* XXX, 617). S. 348 cites FES[IT], PAZE (6th or 7th century). Cf. *Vok.* I, 163. Frankish *tins* (German *zins*) is from *census*, borrowed probably in the fifth century: F. G. Mohl, *Zs.* XXVI, 595.¹

Sc was palatalized also: *crĕscĕre*, *co(g)nĕscĕre*, *fascem*, *nascĕre*, *pĭscem*, etc. Cf. CONSIENSIA, SEPTRVM, S. 348.

261. For a discussion of the subject, see H. Schuchardt, *Vok.* I, 151, and *Ltblt.* XIV, 360; G. Paris in *Journal des savants*, 1900, 359, in the *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes-Études*, 1893, 7, in the *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1893, 81, and in *Rom.* XXXIII, 322; P. Marchot, *Petite phonétique du français pré littéraire*, 1901, 51-53; W. Meyer-Lübke in *Einf.* 123-126, in *Lat.*

¹ In the school pronunciation of the seventh and eighth centuries *c* before *e* and *i* was probably *ts*. In the treatise cited in the preceding note, Thurot 77, it is stated that *c* has "its own sound" before *e* and *i*, and is almost like *q* before other vowels.

Spr. 472, in *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie* 313 ff.; Carnoy 155–160 (who puts the assibilation in the sixth century and earlier). For a possible indication, through alliteration, of a local assibilation of *c* as early as the second century, see *Archiv* XV, 146.

262. For *ce*, *ci*, see Palatals below.

(2) *C* AND *G* BEFORE BACK VOWELS.

263. *K* and *g* before vowels not formed in the front of the mouth usually remained unchanged: *canis*, *gustus*, *pacare*, *negare*. See, however, § 256. Inasmuch as *a* had in Gaul a front pronunciation (§ 194), *ka*, *ga* in most of that country became *k'a*, *g'a*, probably by the end of the seventh century, and then developed further: *carum* > Fr. *cher*, *gamba* > Fr. *jambe*.

Intervocalic *g* before the accent fell in many words in all or a part of the Empire, and apparently remained—perhaps under learned or under analogical influence—in others: *AVSTVS* from the second century on, Carnoy 127 (cf. *AVSTE*, S. 349); *FRVALITAS*, S. 349; so **leālis*, **liāmen*, **reālis* (for *realis* in *Gl. Reich.*, see *Zs.* XXX, 50); so, too, the proclitic *eo* for *ego*, found about the sixth century, *Vok.* I, 129 (other examples in manuscripts, *Franz.* 2 II, 242–243). But *līgāre*, *nēgāre*, *pagānus*.

(3) *C* AND *G* FINAL AND BEFORE CONSONANTS.

264. At the end of a word the guttural seems to have been regularly preserved in Vulgar Latin: *dīc*, *dūc*, *ecce hīc*, *eccu'hāc*, *fac*, *hōc*, *sīc*; cf. Italian *dimmi* (< *dīc mī*), *fammi* (< *fac mī*), *siffatto* (< *sīc factum*).

Occasionally, however, the *c* must have been lost,—mainly,

no doubt, through assimilation to a following initial consonant: *FA* for *fac*, *Zs. XXV*, 735. In late texts *nec* is often written *ne* before a consonant, and there is a confusion of *si* and *sic*: *Franz. 2 II*, 215-224, 236-240.

265. Before another consonant *k* and *g* were for the most part kept through the Vulgar Latin period: *actus*, *oclus*; *frigidus*, **viglat* (§ 233).

For *kw* = *qu*, see § 254. For *ks* = *x*, see § 255.

266. *Kt* in some parts of Italy was assimilated into *tt* by the beginning of the fourth century, in the south even in the first century: *FATA*, *OTOGENTOS*, in *Pompeii*, *Lat. Spr.* 476; *AVTOR*, *LATTVCÆ* (301 A. D.), *OTOBRI* (380 A. D.), *PRÆFETTO*, etc., *S.* 348; *App. Pr.*, "*auctor non autor*"; *Festus*, "*dumecta antiqui quasi dumecita appellabant quæ nos dumeta*," *S.* 348.

The Celts perhaps pronounced the Latin *ct* as χ^t from the beginning, inasmuch as their own *ct* had become χ^t (e.g., Old Irish *ocht-n* corresponding to Latin *octo*, *Windisch* 394, 398-399); and likewise substituted χ^s for *ks*: **faxtum* > *Fr. fait*, **exsire* > *Pr. eissir*. Cf. *Einf.* § 186, *Gram. I*, § 650. The resultant phenomena can, however, be explained otherwise: *Suchier* 735.

267. *Nkt* became *ŋt*, which seems to have been assimilated into *nt* in parts of the Empire, probably by the first century: *defuntus*, *regnancte*, *sante*, *Lat. Spr.* 472; *santo*, *S.* 278; *cuntis*, *santus*, *Carnoy* 172.

There is reason to believe, however, that the *ŋ* was retained very generally in Gaul and perhaps some other regions, and subsequently drawn forward to the præpalatal position—*n'*: *sanctum* > *Fr.*, *Pr. saint*, *sanh*, etc.

268. *Gm* became *um*: *fraumenta*, *fleuma*, *Lat. Spr.* 472; *App. Pr.* "*pegma non peuma*" (i.e., $\pi\eta\gamma\mu\alpha$); *St. Isidore*, "*sagma*

quæ corrupte vulgo *sauma* [or *salma*] dicitur" (i.e., σάγμα), S. 327. Cf. Italian *soma*; and also *salma*, which comes from *sauma* as *calma* from καῦμα. *Soma* occurs in *Gl. Reich*.

269. *Gn* was variously treated in different regions, being preserved in some, assimilated into *n'* or *n* in others, and subjected to still further modifications: *rænante*, *renum*, Haag 34. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 476.

In *cognōsco* the *g* generally disappeared, the word being decomposed—after the fall of initial *g* in *gnosco*—into *co-* and *nōsco*; similarly the *g* was sometimes lost in *cognatus*: *Vok.* I, 115–116, *connato*, *cunnuscit*, etc.

270. *Gr*, between vowels, in popular words apparently became *r* in parts of the Empire: *fra(g)rare*, *intē(g)rum*, *nī(g)rum*, *pere(g)rīnum*, *pī(g)rītia*.

c. PALATALS.

271. Latin *j* was pronounced *y*, being identical in sound with the consonant that developed out of *ē* and *i* (§ 224): *jam*, *conjux*, *cūjus*; *ēāmus*, *habeā*, *tēneat*, *fīlīa*, *vēnīo*. Instead of *i* (= *j*) the spelling *ii* was often used: *coiugi*, *eiius*, Neumann, *Fortsetzung* 7.

When *y* followed a consonant, that consonant was often more or less assimilated, sometimes entirely absorbed by the *y*. Palatalization was commonest in Gaul, rarest in Dacia.

272. *Dy* and *gy*, in the latter part of the Empire, probably were reduced to *y* in vulgar speech: *deōrsūm*, *dīūrnus*; *adjutare*, *audīam*, *gaudīum*, *hōdīe*, *ōdīum*, *pōdīum*, *vīdeā*; *exagīum*, *fageus*. Compare *OZE* = *hōdīe* (S. 323) and *Ζουλεία* = *Julia* (Eckinger 80); *ZACONVS* = *diaconus*, etc. (S. 324) and *ZESV* = *Jesu*, *ZVNIO* = *junior* (S. 239). Cf. *ajutit* = *adjutet*, Pirson 76; *madias* = *maias*, 364 A. D., Stolz 275, Pirson 75, Carnoy

162; *madio* = *maio*, Haag 34; *magias* = *maias*, Carnoy 162, S. 349; *juria* = *jurgia*, Σεργιος = *Sergius*, Carnoy 161; *aio*s = ἄγιος, *Vok.* II, 461; *Congianus* = *Condianus*, Carnoy 162; *corridiæ* = *corrigiæ*, *Remidium* = *Remigium*, Haag 34; *anoget* = **inodiat*, *Gl. Reich*.

De, *di*, however, towards the end of the Empire, had another—doubtless more elegant—pronunciation, which was probably *dz*: *podium* > It. *poggio*, but *medium* > It. *mezzo*. Servius in *Virg. Georg.* II, 216, says, "*Media, di sine sibilo proferenda est, græcum enim nomen est*," S. 320. St. Isidore writes, "*solent Itali dicere ozie pro hodie*," S. 321. The letter *Z* is often used in inscriptions, but we generally cannot tell whether it means *dy*, *y*, or *dz* (cf. § 339): *ZES* = *dies*, S. 323; ζιε = *die*, Audollent 537; *ZOGENES*, S. 324; cf. *sacritus* = διακριτος, Waters Ch. 63.

In most words the vulgar *y* prevailed, in others—especially in Italy—the cultivated *dz*; from *radius* Italian has both *raggio* and *razzo*. The *dz* pronunciation was especially favored after a consonant: *hördeum* > It. *orzo*, *prandium* > It. *pranzo*.

273. It appears that the labials were not regularly assimilated in Vulgar Latin: *sapiam* > It. *sappia*, Pr. *sapcha*, etc. But through the analogy of *audio* > **auyo*, *video* > **veyo*, etc., and perhaps through slurring due to constant and careless use, *habeo*, *dēbeo* often became **ayo*, **deyo*: cf. It. *aggio*, *deggio*, beside *abbio*, *debbio*. The reduced forms generally prevailed, but not everywhere. For *plūvia* a form **plōja* was substituted in most of the Empire: cf. §§ 169, 208, (4).

274. *Ly*, *ny*, between vowels, probably became *l'*, *n'* before the end of the Empire: *fīlius*, *fōlia*, *mēlius*, *palea*, *tīlia*; *Hispania*, *tēneat*, *vēniam*. This palatal pronunciation may be represented by the spellings *Aureia*, *Corneius*, *fios*, etc., S. 327.

Lly, ll'g', l'g' were probably reduced to *l'* somewhat later: *allium, malleus; cōlligit; ex-ēlīgit*.

Oleum, from ἔλαιον, is an exception: cf. It., Sp. *olio*, Pg. *oleo*, Pr. *oli*, Fr. *huile*; the foreign words borrowed from Latin *oleum* indicate the same irregularity.

For *ry*, see § 296.

275. *Sy*, between vowels, doubtless became during the Vulgar Latin period *s'*, a sound similar to English *sh* in *ship*: *basium, caseus, mansiōnem*, etc.

Ssy, scy, sty were generally assimilated later: **bassiare, fascia, pōstea*. Cf. *consiensia*, Pirson 72.

For the confusion of *sy* and *ty*, see § 277.

276. *Cy* and *ty*, in the second and third centuries, were very similar in sound, being respectively *k'y* and *t'y* (cf. Fr. *Riquier* and *pitié* in popular speech), and hence were often confused: Ἀρονκιανός = *Aruntianus*, 131 A.D., Eckinger 99; TERMINACIONES (2d century), *concupiscencia* (an acrostic in *Commodian*), *justicia* (in an edict of *Diocletian*), many examples in Gaul in the 5th century, *Lat. Spr.* 475; *defeniciones* (222–235 A.D.), *ocio* (389 A.D.), *staacio* (601 A.D.), *tercius*, S. 323; *oracionem* (601 A.D.), *tercia*, Pirson 71; *mendatium, servicium*, etc. Bon. 171; especially common in Gallic inscriptions of the seventh century, Stolz 51. Cf. *Vok.* I, 150ff.; *Densusianu* 111.

In later school pronunciation *cy* and *ty* were sounded alike. According to *Albinus* (S. 321) "*benedictio et oratio et talia t debent habere in pænultima syllaba, non c.*" In the treatise published by *Thurot* (see footnote to § 259), p. 78, we are told that *t̃i*, unless preceded by *s*, is pronounced like *c*, as in *etiam, prophetia, quatio, silentium*; *t̃i*, furthermore, is confused with *c̃i*, the spelling *c* being prescribed in *amicicia, avaricia, duricia, justicia, leticia, malicia, pudicicia*, etc., also in *nuncius, ocium*,

spacium, tercius. Cf. *Gl. Reich.*: *audatia, speties, sotium; ambicio, inicio, spacio, tristicia*, etc.

This similarity or identity of sound led, in some cases, either locally or in the whole Empire, to the substitution of suffixes and to other permanent transfers of words from one class to the other: cf. Carnoy 151-154. Hence arose numerous double forms: *condicio conditio, solacium solatium*; later *avaritia -cia*, **cominitiare -ciare, servitium -cium*, etc.; so many proper names, *Anitius -cius*, etc., S. 324. Cf. A. Horning in *Zs. XXIV*, 545. This explains such seemingly anomalous developments as **exquartiare* > It. *squarciare*, **gutteare* > It. *gocciare*, etc. A number of words evidently had a popular pronunciation with *t'* and a school pronunciation with *k'*, or *vice versa*: cf. It. *comenzare cominciare*, etc.¹

277. *T'y* developed sporadically in the second century, regularly by the fourth, into *ts* (cf. § 260): CRESCENTSIAN[VS], 140 A. D., S. 323; MARSIANESSES = *Martianenses*, 3d century, Carnoy 154; ZODORYS = *Theodorus*, etc., S. 324, *Vok. I*, 68; *ampitlatru, Vincentus*, Audollent 537. Servius in *Don.* (S. 320) says, "Iotacismi sunt quotiens post *ti-* vel *di-* syllabam sequitur vocalis, et plerumque supradictæ syllabæ in sibilum transeunt." Papirius, cited by Cassiodorus (S. 320): "*Justitia* cum scribitur, tertia syllaba sic sonat quasi constet ex tribus litteris, *t, z, et i*"; he goes on to state that it is always so when *ti* is followed by a vowel other than *i* (as in *Tatius, otia*, but not in *otii, justitii*), except in foreign proper names or after *s* (as in *justius, castius*). Pompeius says the same thing at considerable length, adding (S. 320), "si dicas *Titius*, pinguius sonat et perdit sonum suum et accipit sibilum." Consentius

¹ For a different explanation of the Italian and Rumanian developments, see S. Puscariu, *Latemisches ti und ki im Rumänischen, Italienischen und Sardischen*, 1904; reviewed in *Ltbl. XXVII*, 64.

mentions the assibilation in *etiam*, St. Isidore in *justitia*: S. 320-321. Welsh words borrowed from Latin before the fourth century show no assibilation; but names in *-tiacum*, carried into Brittany in the second half of the fifth century, are assibilated (e.g., *Metiacus* > *Messac*).

At an intermediate stage between *ty* and *ts* — say *t's'y* — the group, if the *t'* was rather weak, was easily confused with *sy*. Examples are very numerous: OBSERVASIONE, 5th century, S. 323, Pirson 71; *diposisio* = *depositio*, *hocsies*, *sepsies*, 6th century, S. 323; *tersio*, Pirson 71; cf. *Vok.* I, 153. Clerical usage for a while doubtless favored *sy* for *ty*, and many words have preserved it in various regions, especially in suffixes: *palatium* -sium, *pretium* -sium, *ratio* -sio, *statio* -sio, *servitium* -sium, etc.; hence Italian *palagio* beside *palazzo*, etc., and -igia beside -ezza from -itia. Cf. *Ltblt.* XXVII, 65; *Rom.* XXXV, 480.

278. *K'y* was assibilated sporadically in the third century, but not regularly until the fifth or sixth, after the assibilation of *t'y* was completed: *Μαρσιανός* = *Marciānus*, 225 A. D., Eckinger 103; *judigsium*, 6th century, Carnoy 154; 'so *facio*, *glacies*, *placeam*, etc. The resulting sibilant was different from that which came from *t'y*: *faciam* > It. *faccia*, *vitium* > It. *vezzo*. But the intermediate stages were similar enough to lead to some confusion, and the ultimate products have become identical in many regions.

279. For *k'*, *g'*, not followed by *y*, see Gutturals.

d. DENTALS.

280. The dentals were pronounced with the middle of the tongue arched up and the tip touching the gums or teeth, as in modern French, and not as in English: S. 301-302, 307.

281. *D* regularly remained unchanged: *dare*, *perdo*, *modus*, *quid*.

Oscan and Umbrian had *nn* corresponding to Latin *nd*: Sittl 37. There is some indication that this pronunciation was locally adopted in Latin: AGENNÆ, VERECVNNVS, etc., S. 311–312; “*grundio non grunnio*,” *App. Pr.* If this was the case, the central and southern Italian *nn* for *nd* (as *quannu* for *quando*) may go back to ancient times: *Lat. Spr.* 476.

(1) Occasionally $d > l$: old *dacruma* $>$ *lacrima*; *App. Pr.*, “*adipes non alipes*.” Cf. Liquids. Cf. § 289, (3).

(2) In a few words $d > r$: *medidies* by dissimilation $>$ *meridies*; ARVORSVM = *adversum*, S. 311; Consentius blames “*peres pro pedes*,” S. 311. The cases seem to be sporadic and due to different special causes.

282. At the end of a word there was hesitation between *d* and *t*; *d* may have been devocalized before a voiceless initial consonant, and possibly at the end of a phrase: APVD APVT, S. 365; *capud* in Gregory the Great; FECIT FECED, etc., S. 365; INQVID, SET, etc., S. 366–367; *aput*, *quot*, *set*, Carnoy 180. Some of the confusion was doubtless due to the fall of both *d* and *t*: see § 285.

In proclitics assimilation naturally went further, as we may infer from the treatment of the prefix *ad*–: people probably said not only *at te* (cf. *attendere*) but sometimes **ar Romam* (cf. *arripere*). So the final consonant eventually often disappeared. Cf. S. 358–359. Grammarians warn against the confusion of *ad* and *at*, etc., S. 365–366. Cf. *ad eos* and *at ea*, etc., Carnoy 179–180; *id it*, *quid quit*, Carnoy 180; *a, quo* and *co*, Haag 29.

Illud, through the analogy of other neuters, became *illum*: Haag 29, *illum corpus*, etc.

283. Intervocalic *d*, perhaps at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, became *ð* in Spain, Gaul, Rætia, northern Italy, and a part of Sardinia: *videre* $>$ **veðere*. Similarly intervocalic *dr*,

either at the same time or later, became *ðr* in Spain and Gaul: *quadro* > **quaðro*.

In *quadraginta*, *dr* > *rr*: *quarranta*, Pirson 97.

284. *T* usually remained unchanged: *tēneo*, *sītis*, *partem*, *facit*.

Tl, however, seems to have regularly become *cl*: *astūla* > Pr. *ascla*; *stloppus* > **scloppus* > It. *schioppo*; *ustulare* > Pr. *usclar*. Cf. SCLIT. and SCLITIB. (from *stlis stlitis*), S. 312–313; Caper, “*Martulus* . . . non *Marculus*,” “*stlataris* sine *c* littera dicendum,” Keil VII, 105, 107; *App. Pr.*, “*capitulum* non *capiclum*,” “*vetulus* non *veclus*,” “*vitulus* non *viclus*.” For *-tulus* > *-clus*, cf. § 234.

Between *s* and *l* a *t* developed: Caper, “*pessulum* non *pestulum*” (hence Italian *pestio*, etc.), S. 315. So probably *insūla* > **isla* > **istla* > **iscla* > It. *Ischia*.

285. Final *t* fell in Volscian (*fasia* = *faciat*), often in Umbrian (*habe*), occasionally in Faliscan: Hammer 5, 7, 8. In early dialects we find such forms as CVPA, DEDE: S. 367. In Latin, final *t* disappeared early in the Empire in southern Italy, and during the Empire in most of Italy and Dacia; Rumanian, Italian (except Sardinian), and also Spanish and Portuguese show no trace of final *t* except in monosyllables. Cf. Hammer 28–32. The first sure examples of the fall in Latin are found in Pompeii; others appear later in the inscriptions in Christian Rome and northern Italy, as *ama*, *peria*, *relinque*, *valia*, *vixi*, etc.: S. 367–368, *Lat. Spr.* 472. Gaul, Rætia, and Sardinia kept the *t* late; but forms without the consonant (as *audivi*, *posui*) — possibly due to Italian stonecutters — occur in Gallic inscriptions. Fredegarius wrote *e* for *et*: Haag 29.

Final *nt* perhaps lost its *t* before consonants: *Lat. Spr.*

473-474. The Romance languages show forms with *nt*, with *n*, and without either consonant. *Nt*, in general, is preserved in the same regions as *t*. In inscriptions we find: *dedro* and *dedrot*, in Pisaurum, S. 365; *posuerun*, *restituerun*, *Lat. Spr.* 473-474. Cf. Lindsay 124.

Final *st*, likewise, may have lost its *t* before consonants — as *post illum* but *pos' me*, *est amatus* but *es' portatus*: *Lat. Spr.* 473. *Pos* is very common in inscriptions, and *es* is found: S. 368. Cf. *pos*, *posquam* in R. 470. According to Velius Longus, Cicero favored *posmeridianus*; Marius Victorinus preferred *posquam*: S. 368. Both *st* and *s* are represented in the Romance languages.

For the confusion of final *d* and *t*, see § 282: *capud*, *feced*, *inquit* are found. When *t* did not fall, it was doubtless often voiced, inside a phrase, before a vowel or a voiced consonant.

Caput became *capus* (Pirson 238) or **capum*. Fredegarius uses *capo*: Haag 29.

286. Intervocalic *t* was voiced to *d* in Spain, Gaul, Rætia, and northern Italy probably in the fifth or sixth century: cf. § 256. Inscriptions show a few such forms as *amadus*, S. 309. Such a spelling as *retete* for *reddere* (S. 309) may indicate uncertainty in the use of *d* and *t*.

Later this *d* > *ð* in northern Gaul and Spain. In Gaul and Spain, moreover, *tr* > *dr* > *ðr*. Cf. § 283.

e. LIQUIDS.

(1) *L*.

287. *L* had a convex formation, like *d* and *t* (cf. § 280): S. 306-307, 309.

288. Priscian I, 38 (S. 324) writes: "*L* triplicem, ut Plinio videtur, sonum habet: exilem, quando geminatur secundo loco

posita, ut *il-le*, *Metel-lus*; plenum, quando finit nomina vel syllabas et quando aliquam habet ante se in eadem syllaba consonantem, ut *sol*, *silva*, *flavus*, *clarus*; medium in aliis, ut *lectus*, *lectum*." Consentius distinguishes the "sonus exilis," which he ascribes to initial and double *l* (as in *lana*, *ille*), from the "pinguis," heard *before* a consonant (as in *albo*, *alga*, etc.): S. 326. Other grammarians blame, in obscure terms, a faulty pronunciation of *l* particularly prevalent in Africa or Greece: S. 325-326. See also Zs. XXX, 648.

It is likely that *l* before or after another consonant had a thick sound caused by lifting the back of the tongue. *Before* consonants, this formation led in some regions, sporadically by the fourth century but regularly not until the eighth and ninth and later (*Lat. Spr.* 476), to the vocalization of *l* into *u*: *καυκουλατῳ* in an edict of Diocletian, 301 A.D., Eckinger 12; *cauculus* in manuscripts, *Vok.* II, 494. *After* consonants, this elevation, shifted forwards, brought about the palatalization of *l* in Spanish and Italian: *clavem* > *kl'ave* > Sp. *llave*, It. *chiave*.

According to H. Osthoff, *Dunkles und helles l im Lateinischen* in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* XXIV, 50, intervocalic *l*, except before *i*, also had the thick sound — as in *famulus* (but not in *similis*): thus is explained the different fate of *a* in *calēre* > Old Fr. *chaloir* and *gallīna* > Old Fr. *geline*, etc.

289. During the Latin period *l* regularly remained unchanged: *lūna*, *altus*, *mille*, *sōl*. It seems to have fallen in *tribūnal*.

For *ll* > *l*, see § 161. For *ly*, see § 274. For *sl* > *stl*, *skl*, see § 284.

(1) Metathesis occurs occasionally: Consentius (S. 327) blames "*coacla* pro *cloaca*," "*displicina* pro *disciplina*"; cf. *fabūla* > **flaba* > It. *fiaba*, etc.

(2) There are sporadic examples of the dissimilation of two *l*'s:

App. Pr., “*flagellum non fragellum*,” “*cultellum non cuntellum*”; cf. *MVNTV* for *multum*, *C. I. L.* IV, 1593. Cf. S. 327.

(3) Marius Victorinus (Keil VI, 8) says: “Gn. Pompejus Magnus et scribebat et dicebat *kadamitatem pro calamitate*.” Cf. § 281, (1).

(2) *R*.

290. *R* in Classic and Vulgar Latin was probably a gingival or præpalatal trill: S. 307, 309, 328. It generally resisted change: *rīdet*, *carrus*, *cūrsus*, *pater*.

291. In many words, however, *rs* > *ss*. The principle seems to have been that original *rs* remained, while old *rss*, coming from *r^{tt}*, was early reduced to *ss*: *Lat. Spr.* 471. Velius Longus says (S. 330): “*Dossum* per duo *s* quam per *r* quidam ut lenius enuntiaverunt, ac tota *r* littera sublata est in eo quod est *rusum* et *retrosum*.” *Russum* *rusum*, *susum* occur in early writers; *dextrosus*, *introsus*, *rūsus*, *suso*, *susum*, etc., in inscriptions: S. 330. *App. Pr.* has *pessica*; *Gl. Reich.* has *iusū = deorsum*. The assimilation was not consistently carried out everywhere, being probably somewhat hindered by school influence. It took place in the whole territory in *deōrsum* and *sūrsum*; in most of the Empire in *dōrsum*; in about half the Empire in *pērsica*; locally in *aliōrsum*, *retrōrsum*, *revērsus*, *vērsus*.

After long vowels the *ss* > *s* (see § 161); so *sūssum* > *sūsum*, while *dōssum* remained unchanged: *susum*, Waters Ch. 77; *suso susu susum*, Bechtel 83: *susum* very common, R. 460–461; *diosum*, R. 460. Cf. Corssen I, 243.

292. Moreover, there was a strong tendency to dissimilate two *r*'s, although it was only sporadically carried out: in Old Latin, *-aris* after *r* > *-alis*, as in *floralis*; *App. Pr.*, “*terebra non telebra*”; in inscriptions we find repeatedly *pelegrinus*

(Sittl 74), also *ministorum*, *perpenna* = *Perperna*, *propietas*, *propio*, S. 329; *albor*, *coliandrum*, *criblare*, *flagrare*, *meletrix*, *plurigo* are attested likewise, *Lat. Spr.* 477. Pompeius (S. 329) says: "Barbarismus, quando dico *mamor* pro eo quod est *marmor*." Cf. Italian *propio*, *dietro dietro*.

293. Velius Longus (S. 329) tells us that in elegant speech *per* before *l* was pronounced *pel*, as in *pellabor*, *pellicere*. Cf. PELLIGE, etc., S. 329. So Italian *per lo* > *pello*, *averlo* > (in Old It.) *avello*. This assimilation was probably not widespread in Latin; it has left very few traces in the Romance languages. Cf. Italian *Carlo*, *merlo*, *orlo*, *perla*, etc.

294. Metathesis is not uncommon: S. 330-331. Consentius mentions "*perlum* pro *prælum*," S. 330. *Crocodilus* appears as *corcodilus*, *cocodrillus*, *corcodrillus*, S. 331; cf. Italian *cocodrillo*. S. 330 notes PRANCATI. For *quatro*, **sempre*, etc., see § 245.

An intrusive *r* is found in *culcitra*, Waters Ch. 38.

295. Final *r*, except in monosyllables, fell, probably before the end of the Vulgar Latin period, in most of Italy and Dacia: *söror* > It. *suora*, Rum. *soaru*. Sittl 11 mentions an early fall of final *r* among the Falisci and the Marsi, as in *mate*, *uxo*; cf. FRATE, MATE.

296. *Ry* was probably preserved through the Vulgar Latin period, although it may have been reduced to *y* in parts of Italy: *cörrium* > **coryu* and possibly **coyu* (cf. It. *cuqio*).

f. SIBILANTS.

297. *S* seems to have been dental, with the upper surface of the tongue convex (cf. § 280): S. 302, 304, 307-308.

The old voiced *s* having become *r* (S. 314-315), Classic Latin *s* was probably always voiceless and remained so in

Vulgar Latin (S. 302-304): this is indicated by the fact that intervocalic *s* is still generally surd in Spanish (*casa*, etc.) and in most popular words in Tuscan (*naso*, etc.); corroborative evidence, as far as it goes, is furnished by such spellings as *nupsi*, *pleps*, *urps*, also *maximus*, *rex*, etc., and the development of a *p* in such words as *hiemps*, *sumpsi*. At the very end of the Vulgar Latin period, however, intervocalic *s* may have become voiced in some regions (cf. § 256): *causa*, *mīsi*, etc.¹

Classic Latin *s* was generally preserved: *sēx*, *ōssum*, *cūrsus*, *īste*.

298. Final *s* often fell in Umbrian (*kumate*), and occasionally in Faliscan: Hammer 5, 8. Cf. Sittl 27, who cites Umbrian PISAVRESE. In early Latin final *s* was very weak after *ū* and *ī*, and often was not written. Cicero (*Lat. Spr.* 471) says the loss of *-s* is "subrusticum, olim autem politius." Quintilian also (S. 361) notes the omission of *-s* by the ancients. Ennius and his followers down to Catullus did not count *-s* before a consonant in verse: S. 355-356. Cf. Pompeius (Keil V, 108): "*S littera hanc habet potestatem, ut ubi opus fuerit excludatur de metro.*" In the older inscriptions *-s* is freely omitted, but later it is in the main correctly used until the second century of our era: *Lat. Spr.* 471. The omission is commonest in nominative *-ōs* or *-ūs*, but occurs also in *-īs* and *-ās*, rarely in *-ās*: *bonu*, *Cornelio*, *nepoti*, *pieta*, *Terentio*, *unu*, etc., and *matrona* for *matronas*, S. 361-362. According to *Chronologie* 175-186, the nominative singular without *s* (as *Cornelio*, *filio*) predominated in central Italy until the time of Cæsar, when *-s* was partially restored; but by 150 to 200 A. D. the forms without *s* became common

¹In the previously cited Latin treatise (see footnote to § 259), Thurot 77, *s* between vowels is described as "weak," except in compounds, such as *resolvit*. This evidently indicates a voicing in late school pronunciation.

again, and prevailed in central Italy in the third century (*eio* for *ejus*, *liberio*, etc.). Cf. *morbu* = *morbus*, etc., Audollent 539, 540; *filio* = *filios*, *C. I. L. IX*, 1938. In most of Italy, and probably in Dacia, final *s* disappeared for good from the common pronunciation in the second and third centuries, except in monosyllables (*Lat. Spr.* 471): *amātis* > It. *amate*, *sēntīs* > It. *sentī*, *tēmpus* > It. *tempo*; but *das* > It. *dai*, *tres* > Old It. *trei* (later *tre*). Cf. Hammer 19–28, Densusianu 122–123.

In Gaul, Spain, and some other regions, *-s*, probably owing to the previous linguistic habits of the natives, was strongly pronounced and therefore preserved. Carnoy 185–206 records the omission of *-s* in many inscriptions, but notes that as this nearly always happens at the end of a line it is doubtless only a conventional abbreviation.

299. According to Velius Longus (S. 316), *trans-* became *tra-* before *d*, *j*, and sometimes before *m* and *p*: *traduxit*, *trajecit*; *tra(ns)misit*, *tra(ns)posuit*; *transtulit*. We sometimes find, however, *transduco* and *transjicio*. Both forms occur before *l* and *v*: *tra(ns)luceo*, *tra(ns)veho*.

Italy generally favored *tra-* (but *trasporre*), Gaul and Spain usually preferred *tras-* (but *traduire*, *traducir*).

300. In *presbȳter*, a new nominative constructed from *πρεσβύτερος*, the *s* fell in Italy and elsewhere through the substitution of the prefix *præ-* (as in *præbitor*) for the unusual initial *pres-*: hence It. *prete*, Pr. *preveire* (< **præbȳtĕrum*).

301. For prosthetic *i* or *e* before *s* + consonant, see § 230. In Old French *pasmer* (from *spasmus*) the *s* was lost probably through confusion with *es-* coming from the prefix *ex-*.

302. For *ss* > *s*, see § 161. For *sy*, see § 275. For assibilation, see Gutturals and Palatals. For *z*, see § 246 and Greek Consonants.

g. NASALS.

303. *N*, like *d* and *t* (§ 280), was dental or gingival, with an arched tongue: S. 269–270.

M and *n*, initial and intervocalic, regularly remained unchanged: *mēus*, *nōster*, *amat*, *vēnit*. For the reduction of *mīnus*– to *mis*–, see § 245. There was a dissimilation of two *n*'s in *Bononia* > It. *Bologna*.

304. *M* and *n*, final or followed by a consonant, were obscure and weak in Classic Latin; the preceding vowel must have been partly nasalized, and the mouth closure incomplete. According to Priscian (S. 275), “*m* obscurum in extremitate dictionum sonat, ut *templum*, apertum in principio, ut *magnus*, mediocre in mediis, ut *umbra*.” Terentianus Maurus (S. 275) says that for *n* the air comes through both nose and mouth. So Marius Victorinus (S. 275): “*N* vero sub convexo palati lingua inhærente gemino naris et oris spiritu explicabitur.” The same author describes (S. 275) a sound between *m* and *n*: “Omnes fere aiunt inter *m* et *n* litteras mediam vocem quæ non abhorreat ab utraque littera sed neutram proprie exprimat.” Cf. S. 276.

305. In Classic Latin the nasal naturally took before labials the form of *m*; before dentals, *n*; before *f* and *v*, probably first *m*, then *n*, as the pronunciation of these fricatives changed from bilabial to dentilabial (cf. § 320); before gutturals, *ŋ*: *combura*, *immitto*, *imperio*; *conduco*, *contineo*, *innocens*; *confluo confluo*, *convenio convenio*; *anguis*, *inquit*, *uncus* (cf. IVNCXI, NVNCQVAM, S. 278). Cf. S. 270, 279–280. The *ŋ*—or “*n* adulterinum”—is described by Nigidius (in Gellius), and also by Priscian, as between *n* and *g* (S. 275); cf. S. 269–270, 272. Before liquids the nasal was assimilated (*colligo*, *corrigo*, etc.), before *s* it was silent (*cosul*, etc.: cf. §§ 171, 311).

Final nasals seem to have been adapted, like medial nasals, to a following consonant: *nom paret, cun dūce, nom or non fēcit, iŋ carne; nol lēgo, cur rēgibus, i senātu*. Cicero advocated *cun nobis*; Servius, *cun navibus*: *Lat. Spr.* 476. In inscriptions we find *cun, locun sanctum, nomem, quan floridos, quen*, S. 364; cf. *forsitam mille*, Bechtel 81 (*forsitam*, Carnoy 220).

306. In the vulgar speech of the Empire the sound before labials seems to have been indistinct, and even before dentals not always clear (S. 271–272); before *f* and *v* there was great uncertainty (cf. §§ 171, 311), and there was apparently some doubt before *gu* and *qu* (S. 272): this is indicated by such spellings as *senper, quamta, nynfis, nunquam*, S. 276–277; *conplere, decemter*, Carnoy 176; *tan mulieribus*, Carnoy 220. Cf. Carnoy 176–177. In both old and late inscriptions the nasal is often omitted altogether before a consonant: *Decebris, exemplu, occubas*, etc., *innoceti, laterna, secudo*, etc., *iferos*, etc., *defuctæ, pricipis, reliquat*, etc., S. 273, 281–285. For the change of *ŋkt* to *ŋt*, then to *nt*, see § 267: *santa*, etc., Pirson 92; *santo*, etc., frequent, S. 278.

The hesitation and inconsistency in spelling are certainly due in part to imperfect articulation, largely to mere carelessness in cutting, but in great measure also to the mistaken efforts of later writers to restore a real or hypothetical earlier orthography: compare the treatment of prefixes, § 32.

In late Vulgar Latin *m*, *n*, *ŋ* must have been reinforced, as there is little trace of confusion in the Romance languages.

307. *Mn* seems at one time to have been pronounced *m*: Quintilian (S. 286) says: “*Columnam et consules exempta n littera legimus*.” Cf. Priscian (S. 275): “*N quoque plenior in primis sonat et in ultimis partibus syllabarum, ut nomen*,

stamen; *exilior in mediis, ut amnis, damnum*." Carnoy 166 has *Interamico*, for *-amn-*, from the first century.

Late inscriptions, on the other hand, show a fondness for such spellings as *calumpnia*, *dampnum* (cf. Bon. 189, *calumpnia*, *dampnare*, etc.); and *m̄pn* is common in the early Romance languages. It is likely that this orthography indicates a conscious and painful effort to articulate clearly. Toward the end of the Empire fashion evidently prescribed a distinct pronunciation of *mn*, counteracting a previous tendency to slur the group.

The Romance languages point to the preservation of *mn*, although it was probably assimilated into *nn* in central and southern Italy before the Empire was over (*Lat. Spr.* 476): *Interanniensis*, Carnoy 166.

308. Between *m* and *s* or *t* a *p* generally developed in Latin—that is to say, the latter part of the *m* was unvoiced and denasalized before the surd that followed; this *p* was not always written: *sum(p)si*, *sum(p)tus*, etc. Cf. S. 298.

309. Final *m* often fell in Umbrian (as in *puplu*), occasionally in Faliscan: Hammer 5, 8. In Old Latin it was weak: S. 356. It is often omitted in inscriptions down to 130 B. C., and again in late plebeian inscriptions; in the last century of the Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire the traditional spelling is carefully observed: early and late such forms as *dece*, *eoru*, *mecu*, *mense*, *septe*, *unu* are very common, and conversely forms with a superfluous *m*, S. 363–364; cf. Audollent 539–540, abundant examples; *App. Pr.*, *ide*, *numqua*, *oli*, *passi*, *pride*. The omission of *-m* and the wrong use of it are very frequent in the *Per.*: *que ad modum*, *terra*, Bechtel 79; *jacente*, etc., *accedere*, etc., Bechtel 80; *dormito* for *dormitum*, Bechtel 91; cf. Bechtel 107. So R. 462,

ardente lucernam, etc. According to Quintilian (S. 362), Cato said *dice hanc*; he adds that there is scarcely any *m* audible in *tantum ille, quantum erat*.

Final *m* before vowels seems to have been, from early times, only a weak nasal glide: in *circueo* it disappears (S. 274), in poetry it may be disregarded (cf. *audiendu'st*, etc., S. 361). Before consonants it was assimilated (cf. *TAN DVRVM*, etc., S. 361): see § 305. Cf. S. 356–358, 360. Carnoy 206–221, who notes the omission of *-m* in many inscriptions under all possible conditions, reaches the conclusion that it became silent at the end of polysyllables by the first century, having disappeared very early before vowels, next before spirants and at the end of a phrase, then (by assimilation) before other consonants.

In the opinion of Schuchardt, *Vok.* I, 110–112, the preceding vowel was nasalized. The contrary view is maintained by Seelmann, 288–292. As the fall of *m* seems to have been due primarily to a failure to close the lips completely between two vowels, it is likely that the nasalization was slight.

The Romance languages point to a loss of *-m* in all words but monosyllables: *damnu(m)*, *pössu(m)*, *těnea(m)*; *cŭm*, *jam*, *quēm* (*quen*, Audollent 537). Cf. Hammer 32–41.

310. Final *n* must have been indistinct (S. 358), but it seems to have been reinforced in Classic speech (S. 286). The prefix *con-* became *co-* before vowels, as in *coactum*, *cohærere*, *cohors*, *coicere*: S. 274, 282. Before *gn*, too, the final *n* of prefixes fell very early, as in *cognatus*, *cognosco*, *ignotus*: S. 274. Otherwise there is no sure proof of the fall of *-n* in Latin (S. 364–365), but there is abundant evidence of its assimilation to a following labial (IM BELLO, etc., S. 361): see § 305; cf. *Lat. Spr.* 473. For further assimilation, cf. Caper (Keil VII, 106), "*in Siciliam dicendum, non is Siciliam*": see § 311.

The Romance languages indicate the disappearance of *-n*, except in monosyllables: *nōme(n)*, *sēme(n)*; *īn*, *nōn*. It probably fell late, after the Vulgar Latin period: *Lat. Spr.* 473.

For final *nt*, see § 285.

311. Before fricatives or spirants *n* regularly fell, probably through nasalization of the preceding vowel: see § 171. This phenomenon was only partially recognized by Classic authority: *-ensimus* > *-ēsimus*, *-iens* > *-iēs*, *-onsus* > *-ōsus*, as in *vicesimus*, *toties*, *formosus* (S. 273); *ns*, however, was kept in participles, as *videns*, *mansus*; both forms were used in *-ē(n)sis* (according to Velius Longus, Cicero preferred *foresia*, *hortesia*, S. 287). Charisius (S. 286) records that "*mensam sine n littera dictam Varro ait.*" Cf. Quintilian (S. 286), "*consules exempta n littera legimus.*"

In popular speech the fall was probably constant from early times: *cesor*, *cojux*, *cosol*, *coventionid*, *iferos*, *infas*, *libes*, etc., S. 274, 281-285; Stolz 243 ff. Plautus repeatedly uses *mostrare*, Stolz 243. Terence seems to intend a rhyme in "*neque pes neque mens*," *Eunuchus* 728. Such forms are frequent in inscriptions: *cofecisse*, *cojectis*, *cojugi* (very common), *covenimus*, *ifer* (Capua, 387 A. D.), *iferi*, *ifimo*, *ifra*, *iventa*, *resurges* (on a coin of Vespasian's reign), S. 274, 281-285. So in Greek-letter inscriptions: *κλήμης*, *κόζους*, etc., Eckinger 80, 113-115. Cf. Audollent 538, *iferi*; Carnoy 177, *cojugi*, etc., *mesis*, etc.; Pirson 94, *infas*, *remasit*; *App. Pr.*, "*ansa non asa*"; R. 461-462, *prægnas* repeatedly, *mesor messor* = *ensor*. Conversely, with a superfluous *n*: *fidens* = *fides*, *quiensces*, etc., S. 274, 285; *thensaurus*, Stolz 243; "*Hercules non Herculens*," "*occasio non occansio*," *App. Pr.*; *locuplens*, *occansio*, *thensaurus*, etc., R. 459.

Before *f*, *j*, *v*, the *n* was generally restored by analogy (see § 171); such words as *conjux*, *convenio* are really new formations: S. 274. The only sure Romance traces of the loss of *n*

before these consonants in Latin are Italian *fante* and French *couvent*, although at a later date *nf* became *f* in Rætia and much of southern France.

Before *s*, the fall of *n* was permanent, and the only Romance words containing *ns* are learned terms or new formations: *mesa*, *mesis*, *pesat*, *sposus*, *tosus*; but *pensare*.

h. LABIALS.

(1) *P*.

312. *P* regularly remained unchanged: *pater*, *opus*, *corpus*.

(1) There was some sporadic confusion of *p* and *b*: BVBLICÆ, SCRIPTIT, S. 299; *App. Pr.*, "*plasta non blasta*," "*ziziber non ziziper*"; *cannabis* and It. *canapa*.

313. In Italy and perhaps elsewhere there was a tendency to drop *p* between a consonant and an *s* or *t*: *redempti*, etc., Pirson 93; *scultor*, etc., S. 299.

In a part of Italy *ps* became *ss* as early as the first century: *isse* for *ipse* is found in Pompeii, and is attested by Martial and possibly by the *icse* for *ipse* mentioned by Suetonius, *Lat. Spr.* 476.

In central and southern Italy *pt* became *tt* probably early in the Empire: *scritus*, etc., S. 299; *settembres*, 7th century, Carnoy 165. In a part of Gaul *captivus* seems to have been pronounced **caχtīvus*: it may be that in Gallic speech the *pt* of this word became *χt*, as was the case with Celtic *pt* (Dottin 100; cf. Old Irish *secht-n* = *septem*, Windisch 394); or perhaps *captivus* became first **cactīvus*, under the influence of Celtic **cactos* (Welsh *caeth*) = Latin *captus* (Loth 35).

✓ 314. Intervocalic *p* probably became *b* in the fifth and sixth centuries in Spain, Gaul, Rætia, and northern Italy: see § 256. Cf. Pirson 60–61: *labidem*, etc. *Pr* likewise became *br*: *Abrilis*, Pirson 61; *lebræ*, Bon. 160; *stubrum*, Haag 862.

In northern Gaul intervocalic *p* and *pr*, even in clerical Latin, developed through *b* and *br* into β and βr by the seventh century: *rivaticus*, 629 A. D., *Vok.* I, 128; *cavanna*, *Gl. Reich*.

For *p_e*, *p_i*, see § 273.

(2) *B*.

315. When *b* was not intervocalic, it usually remained unchanged: *bēne*, *blītum*, *oblītus*.

Mb, as in Oscan and Umbrian, became *mm* in Sicily and southern and central Italy, the *mm* being found in inscriptions as far north as Rome: *Lat. Spr.* 476. Cf. *nd*, § 281.

Before *s* or *t* it is likely that *b* regularly became *p* in Latin, although it was often written *b*: *absens apsens*, *ab-apsolvere*, *plebs pleps*, *scribsi scripsi*, *scribturn scriptum*, *trabs traps*, *urbs urps*; *App. Pr.*, "*celebs non celeps*," "*labsus non lapsus*."

Final *b* must have been often assimilated to a following consonant: *sud die*, 601 A. D., Carnoy 165.

316. In the Empire, especially in the second century, initial *b* and *v* were much confused in inscriptions (cf. *V*): *biginti*, *bixit*, *botu*, *vene*, etc., S. 240; *Baleria*, *Balerius*, *Beneria*, *Beneti*, *Betrubius*, *Bictor*, *bos*, *valneas*, Audollent 536; African *birtus*, *bita*, *boluntas*, *Vok.* I, 98; *bivere*, very common, Carnoy 140; *baluis*, Bechtel 78; *vibit*, etc., R. 456; *bobis* in *Consentius*, *Vok.* III, 68.

In the Romance languages there are few, if any, traces of such an early interchange. Probably the confusion was mainly or wholly graphic, being due to the identity in sound of *b* and *v* between vowels (§ 318): *Lat. Spr.* 473; cf. *Einf.*, § 120. The Spanish levelling of initial *b* and *v* does not go back to Vulgar Latin (Carnoy 139-141); the confusion is far commoner in Italian inscriptions than in Spanish or Gallic (Carnoy 142-146). We find also a change of initial *v* to *b* in north Portuguese, Gascon, south Italian, and Old Rumanian.

✓ 317. After liquids, too, there was a confusion of *b* and *v* in inscriptions, *b* being substituted for *v* much oftener than *v* for *b*: *Nerba*, *salbum*, *serbus*, *solbit*, etc., S. 240; *berbex*, Waters Ch. 57; *solbere*, repeatedly, Carnoy 140; *solbere*, etc., R. 455; *App. Pr.*, "*alveus* non *albeus*."

In all probability *v* really changed to *b* after liquids: see *V. B* remained unchanged.

✓ 318. Intervocalic *b* opened into β ; the development apparently began in the first century, was well along in the second, and was completed, at least in Italy, in the third: *Oἰονία* = *Vibia*, Rome, Eckinger 95; *DEVERE*, *DEVITVM*, *PROVATA*, etc., S. 240. As *v* also was pronounced β , a confusion in spelling resulted, *b* and *v* being used indiscriminately: *CVRABIT*, *IVBENTVTIS*, *NOBE*, etc., S. 240; *IVVENTE* = *jubente*, 2d century, *Einf.* 127, § 120; *cabia* = *cavea*, *Danuvium*, *Dibona*, *iubenis*, *vovis*, etc., Audollent 536-537; *devitum* (6th century), *lebis*, *redivit*, *vibi*, Carnoy 134-135; *annotavimus*, *lebat*, Bechtel 78; *devetis*, *habe* = *ave*, *rogavo*, *suabitati*, etc., R. 455-456; cf. Stolz 51, Pirson 61-62, Carnoy 134-136. Cf. *V.*

When this β became contiguous to a following consonant, it was vocalized into *u*: **faula*, **paraula*, **taula*, etc. Cf. *V.*

Intervocalic *br*, perhaps not until the end of our period, became βr in northern Gaul, *Rætia*, part of northern Italy, and *Dacia*.

(1) In the early stages of clerical Latin intervocalic *b* was pronounced β , as in popular speech: **faβula*, **taβula*, etc. Later, perhaps by the seventh century, it was sounded *b*.

(2) In *App. Pr.* we find "*sibilus* non *sifilus*," and Priscian (S. 300) mentions "*sifilum* pro *sibilum*"; cf. French *siffler*. Perhaps the form with *f* comes from some non-Latin Italic dialect: cf. *bubulcus* = It. *bifolco*, and a few other words.

(3) For *habēbam* > **aβea*, see § 421.

319. *Be*, *bi* probably remained unchanged, at least in most

of the Empire: *rabies*, *rūbeus*, etc. For the analogical change of *habeo* to **ayo*, *dēbeo* to **deyo*, see § 273.

(3) *F*.

320. *F* was originally bilabial (S. 294–295), but became dentilabial by the middle of the Empire (S. 295): cf. § 305. It is the old *f*, apparently, that is described by Quintilian (S. 296–297); a plain description of the dentilabial *f* is given by Terentianus Maurus and Marius Victorinus (S. 296).

(1) Grammarians speak of an alternation of *h* and *f*: *fædus* > *hædus*, *fasena* > *harena*, *fircum* > *hircum*, *habam* > *fabam*, etc., S. 300. The *f* and the *h* doubtless belonged to different dialects in early Latin; according to Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5, § 97, the *f* for *h* was Sabine. This phenomenon can have no connection with the change of initial *f* to *h* in Spanish and Gascon.

321. It is probable that intervocalic *f* became *v* at the end of the Vulgar Latin period (cf. § 256): *alevanti* = *elephanti*, *paceveci* = *pacifici*, *pontevecem* = *pontificem*, Haag 32–33.

(4) *V*.

322. The letter *v* was doubtless originally pronounced *w*; but, losing its velar element, the sound was reduced, probably early in the Empire, to the bilabial fricative β . During the Empire Greek-letter inscriptions have *ov* or β for *v* (*Nεpova* or *Nεpβα*): *Oυιονία* = *Vibia*, Rome, Eckinger 95; β for *v* is common from the first century on, Eckinger 85–91. Velius Longus, in the middle of the second century, says that the *u* in *ualente* is pronounced “cum aliqua aspiratione”: S. 232.

Hence arises a complete confusion of intervocalic *b* and *v* (cf. *B*): *CVRABIT*, *IVBENTVTIS*, etc., S. 240; *jubari* for *juvari* in Gregory the Great. This leads to a graphic confusion of initial *b* and *v* in inscriptions: *BIGINTI*, *BIXIT*, *BOTV*, etc. (so *INBICTO*), S. 240.

Later the bilabial β became dentilabial v in most of the Empire: cf. § 305.

For the substitution of w for β or v in a few words, see Germanic Consonants.

323. After liquids β seems to have closed regularly into b ; this state was preserved in Rumanian (Densusianu 97, 103-105), but elsewhere the β or v was partially restored by school influence: CERBVS, CORBI, CVRBATI, FERBEO, NERBA (about 100 A. D.), SERBAT, SOLBIT, E. G. Parodi in *Rom.* XXVII, 177, cf. § 317. So *vervex* became **verbex*, then *berbex*: Waters Ch. 57; BERBECES, 2d century, *Einf.* 127, § 120 (also in *Gl. Reich.*).

Hence came hesitation in spelling (*ferveo*, *ferbui*, etc.) and inconsistent results in the Romance languages: *cōrvus* > It. *corbo corvo*, Fr. *corbeau*; *cūrvus* > Old Fr., Pr. *corp*, Sp. *corvo*; *nērvus* > It. *nerbo*, Fr. *nerf*; *servare*, *servire* > It. *serbare*, *servire*.

324. Intervocalic w or β had a tendency in older Latin, as in Umbrian, to disappear between two like vowels: *divīnus* > *dīnus* (cf. Umbrian *deivina* > *deina*, Sittl 26), *obliviscor* > *oblīscor*, *si vis* > *sīs*. Cf. Lindsay 52. Also, at all times, before or after o : *bōvis* > *bōs*; *devorsum* > *deōrsum*; *faor*, Pirson 63; *moere*, Audollent 539; Νοεμβριος, *Vok.* II, 479; NOEM[BRIS], S. 241; "*pavor non paor*," *App. Pr.*; cf. late *noembris*, *noicius*, Lindsay 52. "*Favilla non failla*" in *App. Pr.* seems to be isolated.

In the above cases the fall apparently was only sporadic. But before an accented o or u , the w or β fell regularly in most of the Empire: *aunculus*, *Vok.* II, 471 (cf. *auncli*, Pirson 63); FLAONIVS, S. 241; **paōnem*; **paōrem*.

Furthermore, intervocalic w or β regularly disappeared in popular speech before any u , probably towards the end of the Republic (when *-vos* > *-vus*): FLAVS, VIVS, S. 241 (cf. *flaus* in

App. Pr., *vius* in Pirson 63); *oum*, *Vok.* II, 472 (cf. *oum* in Probus, Keil IV, 113); *nous*, Audollent 539 (cf. *noum*, Pirson 63); *gnæus*, Lindsay 52; *datius*, Carnoy 128; *primitius*, Pirson 63; *aus*, *rius*, *App. Pr.* Often, however, the *v* was restored, after the analogy of a feminine or a plural form: *ovum* (beside *oum*) through *ova*, *rivus* (beside *rius*) through *rivi*, etc. Cf. § 167.

(1) In inscriptions -vs is common in place of -vvs; in most cases this is probably only graphic: Carnoy 128-131. The *ÆVM* of *C. I. L.* I, 1220, cited by Schuchardt (*Vok.* II, 471) and others as *æum*, is evidently intended for *ævum*.

✓ 325. When intervocalic *w* or β became contiguous to a following consonant, it was vocalized into *u* (cf. *B*): Classic *claudio*, *naufragus*, etc.; Vulgar *aucella*, *triumphaut*, etc.

(5) *U*.

326. *U* in hiatus which had not already become *w* (§§ 223-224) probably took that sound by the end of the Vulgar Latin period: *eccu' hīc* > **eccwīc*, *eccu' īsta* > **eccwīsta*, *nōcui* > *nōcwi*, *placuit* > *placwit*. Before this, the original Latin *w* (spelled *v*) had become β : § 322.

2. GREEK CONSONANTS.

327. In Greek the surd and the sonant stops must have been less sharply differentiated than in Latin; the sonants were perhaps not fully voiced, and the surds doubtless had a weak, voiced explosion: so they were not always distinguished by the Latin ear. The Greek liquids, nasals, and sibilants usually remained unchanged in transmission.

328. Single consonants sometimes became double in Latin, and Greek double consonants sometimes became single: *νόμος* > *nummus*; *ἐκκλησία* > *ec(c)lesia*. Cf. Claussen 847-851.

(1) B, Γ, Δ.

329. B, γ, δ regularly remained *b*, *g*, *d*: βλαιορός > *blæsus*; γάρων > *garum*; δέλτα > *delta*. Sometimes, however, they were unvoiced into *p*, *c*, *t*: Ἰάκωβος > **Jácopus* (also **Jácomus*); γόγγρος > *conger gonger*, σπήλυγγα > *spelunca*; κέδρος > *citrus*. Cf. Claussen 833–838.

Γμ > *um* (cf. § 268): σάγμα > *sagma sauma*.

(2) K, Π, T.

330. K, π, τ generally remained *c*, *p*, *t*: κόλαφος > *colaphus*; πορφύρα > *purpura*; τάλαντον > *talentum*.

K, however, often became *g*; π sometimes became *b*; of a change of τ to *d* there is no example, although κάνδιτος for *can-didus* (Eckinger 98) seems to point in that direction: Ἀκράγας > *Acragas Agragas*, κάμμαρος > *cammarus gammarus*, κόμμι > *gummi*, κυβερνᾶν > *gubernare*, κωβιός > *gobius*; cf. EGLOGE, PROGNE, S. 346; *App. Pr.*, “*calatus non galatus*” (= κάλαθος); the confusion is mentioned by Terentius Scaurus and others, S. 347; — πύξος > *buxus*, πυρρός > *burrus*, cf. *bustiola* in *Gl. Reich*.

Kν > *cīn* in κύκνος > *cicinus* > Old. It. *cecino*.

331. After nasals, κ, π, τ regularly came to be pronounced *g*, *b*, *d* in Greek: ἀνάγκη > *anángi*, λαμπρός > *lambrós*, ἄντρον > *ándron*. This late Greek pronunciation perhaps accounts for such cases as καμπή > Lat. *gamba*, τύμπανον > Fr. *timbre*, σάνταλον > Fr. *sandal*. Cf. Claussen 838–841.

(3) Θ, Φ, X.

332. The explosives θ, φ, χ became in Old Latin *t*, *p*, *c* (S. 252–253): πορφύρα > *purpura*; old inscriptions, *Pilipus*, etc., S. 259; later inscriptions, *Teodor*, *nimpæ*, *Cristo*, etc., S. 259–260. From the middle of the second century B. C. we find the spellings TH, PH, CH: Claussen 823–833. People of fashion

undoubtedly tried to imitate the aspirates (Lindsay 54), but popular speech kept the old *t, p, c*, for new words as well as for old: *σπαθή* > *spatha* = *spata*; *κόλαφος* > *colaphus* = *colapus*, *συμφωνία* > It. *zampogna*, *φάλαγξ* > It., Sp. *palanca*, *φαντασία* > Pr. *pantaisar*; *χορδή* > *chorda* = *corda*.

Quintilian (S. 256) says there were no aspirate consonants in older Latin. Cicero (S. 256) speaks of using the old, un-aspirated pronunciation (as *pulcros*, *triumpos*) in order to be better understood. The proper spelling is discussed by grammarians: S. 257-258.

The letter *h* is occasionally misused, as in *PHOSIT*, *PACHE*, etc.: S. 260. It is transposed in *Phitonis*, *phitonissæ*, Bonnet 141, 218; cf. *Fitonis*, *Fitones* in *Gl. Reich*.

333. In *φάλλαῖνα* > *ballæna*, and some other early adoptions, *φ* > *b*; perhaps the reason is to be sought in a Greek dialect pronunciation: Claussen 829-831. In *δοχή* > *doga*, etc., *χ* > *g*: Claussen 831. In *θεῖος* > It. *zio* we have a late development of *θ*; cf. *App. Pr.*, "*Theophilus non izofilus*": Claussen 833.

(1) Evidence of a late school pronunciation of *θ* as *ts* is to be found in Thurot 78, 79 (cf. footnote to § 259): "*T quoque, si aspietur, ut c enuntiatur, ut æther, nothus, Parthi, cathedra, catholicus, etheus, Matheus*". . . "*In principio inquam dictionis nulla prescripta causa variari compellitur, ut thiara, Thiestes, Thestius, Thescelus, Theos*."

334. By the first century A. D., *φ* had developed into *f* in some places (S. 261): *DAFNE* occurs in Pompeii, Claussen 828; *f* is common later in southern Italy, S. 261. Certainly as early as the fourth century (Lindsay 58) *f* came to be the standard pronunciation: *App. Pr.*, "*amfora non ampōra*," "*strofa non stropa*"; Bechtel 79, *neofiti*; so *ὀφήκιον* for *officium*, etc., Eckinger 97. In late words *φ* regularly appears as *f*: *φάσηλος* > *phaselus faselus*; *κέφαλος* > It. *cefalo*; etc.

(4) LIQUIDS, NASALS, AND SIBILANTS.

335. The liquids regularly remained unchanged: λαμπάς > *lampas*; ῥήτωρ > *rhetor*. *Rh* in common speech was doubtless pronounced like *r*.

In σέλιον > It. *sedano*, and a few other words, we probably have to do with a late Greek change of λ to δ.

336. The nasals, too, regularly remained unchanged: μαῦρος > *maurus*; νομή > *nome*. There are, however, some indications that they were weak before consonants: βόμβος > Pr. *bobansa*, etc. Cf. Claussen 845.

337. Of the sibilants, σ and ξ were regularly unchanged: σίναπι > *sinapis*; ἔξοδος > *exodus*. In ὀσμή? > It. *orma*, σ has probably become *r*. For πρεσβύτερος > *prebiter*, see § 300.

The unfamiliar combination ψ lent itself readily to metathesis: ψάλλειν > *psallere spallere*.

For ζ, see below.

(5) Z.

338. Z doubtless had several pronunciations in Greek. In early Latin it was represented by *ss* or *s*: μάζα > *massa*, ζώνη > *sona* (Plautus). From Sulla's time on it was written *z* in Latin: Claussen 841–843. The grammarians throw no light on the Latin pronunciation. Quintilian refers only to the Greek letter and the lack of a corresponding Latin one; Velius Longus discusses *z* at length, as a simple sound, but seems to be referring only to Greek speech: S. 308. Priscian (Keil II, 36) says that ζ is sounded *sa*, but was often replaced, among the ancients, by *s*, *ss*, or *d*—as in *Saguntum*, *massa*, *Medentius*.

339. Judging from inscriptions, it was pronounced in Vulgar Latin *dy*, later *y* (cf. § 272), and subsequent developments confirm this view: *baptizare* was equivalent to *bapti(d)yare*,

zelosus to (*d*)*yelosus*. The ending *-i(d)yare* became very common: see § 33.

The spelling *di* for *z* occurs repeatedly: *baptidiare* is found several times in *Per.* (90, 22, etc.; cf. Bechtel 79), and is common in inscriptions (cf. *baptidiatus*, Carnoy 163); *oridium* for *ōpυζα*, *Lat. Spr.* 473. Conversely, *z* is often used for *di*: *ZABVLLVS*, *Vok.* I, 68; *zabulus*, *zacones*, Koffmane 38; *Lazis* = *Ladiis*, *zabulus*, *zaconus*, *zebus*, *zeta* = *dieta*, *zosum* = *deorsum*, *R.* 457-458.

In late inscriptions *z* for *j* is common: *zerax* = *ἱεραξ* (202 A. D.), *zanuari*, *Vok.* I, 69; *ZESV*, *ZVNIOB*, *S.* 239; *Ζουλεία* = *Julia*, *κόζους* = *conjux*, Eckinger 80. Cf. *septuazinta*, Carnoy 163.

3. GERMANIC CONSONANTS.

340. Most of the consonants offer no peculiarities, being treated as in Latin. A few, however, had no Latin equivalents: *ð*, *þ*, *h*, and *w*. Furthermore, *b* and *k* came in after the corresponding Latin sounds had undergone some modification.

341. *B* between vowels, occurring apparently only in words adopted after Latin intervocalic *b* had become *β* (§ 318), remained a stop: *roubôn* > *It. rubare*, **strīban* > *Pr. estribar*.

G, although it can scarcely have come in time to share in the early palatalization of Latin *g* before front vowels (§§ 258 ff.), seems to have followed a similar course, and to have participated also in the later Gallic palatalization of *g* before *a* (§ 263): *gilda* > *It. geldra*, **gīga* > *Pr., It. giga*, *geisla* > *Pr. giscle*; *garba* > *Fr. gerbe*, *garto* > *Old Fr. jart*.

K resisted front vowels: *skēna* > *Sp. esquena*, *skērñôn* > *It. schernire*; so **rīk-ītia* > *Pr. riqueza*, etc. *Franko* seems to have been an early acquisition, and its derivatives palatalized their *k* before *e* and *i*: *frank-iscus* > *It. Francesco*, etc. In the

regions where Latin *c* was palatalized, in the seventh century and later, before *a* (§ 263), Germanic *k* was modified in the same way before all front vowels (including *a*): cf. Old Fr. *eschine*, *eschernir*, *richesse*; so *blank-a* > Fr. *blanche* (but It. *bianca*).

342. The spirants *ð* and *þ* were replaced in Latin by the corresponding stops, *d* and *t*: *wiðarlon* > It. *guiderdone*; *hau-niþa* > Fr. *honte*, *þahso* > It. *tasso*, *þarrjan* > Fr. *tarir*, *þrēscan* > Pr. *trescar*. Cf. Kluge 500.

343. Germanic *h* appeared when Latin *h* had long been silent in popular speech.

At the beginning of a word it kept its sound in northern Gaul, but apparently was neglected in the rest of the Empire: *hanca* > Fr. *hanche*, Sp. *anca*; *hapja* > Fr. *hache*, Pr. *apcha*; *hardjan* > Fr. *hardir*, It. *ardire*; *hēlm* > Old Fr. *helme*, It. *elmo*. Bon. 445 notes that *ab*, rather than *a*, is used before initial *ch*: *ab Chilperico*, etc.

Intervocalic *h* disappeared in most words, but in a few—perhaps borrowed at a different date—it seems to have been sounded *kk* in the greater part of the Empire: *fēhu* > Fr., Pr. *feu*, It. *fio*; *skiuhan* > Fr. *esquiver*, It. *schivare*; *spēhôn* > Old Fr. *espier*, Pr. *espiar*; — *jēhan* > Old Fr. *jehir*, Pr. *gequir*, It. *gecchire*, Old Sp. *jaquir*.

Hs, *ht* were generally treated like Latin *ss*, *tt*: *þahso* > It. *tasso*; — *slahta* > Old Fr. *esclate*, Pr. *esclata*, It. *schiatto*; *slēht* > Pr. *esclet*, It. *schietto*. But *wahta*, doubtless adopted at a different time, became Old Fr. *gaite*, Pr. *gaita*; cf. It. *guatare*.

344. Germanic *w* was a strong velar and labial fricative, at a time when original Latin *w* (spelled *v*) had become the purely labial fricative *β* (§ 322). It was nearer in sound to Latin *u*: see § 326. In the *Gl. Reich.* we find it

represented by *uu*, in *uuadius*, *reuuardent*, etc. Bon. 167 records *Euua*, *wa* (the interjection), *Waddo*, *walde*, *Wandali*, etc. It is generally written *w* in Fredegarius, but *Wintrio* is spelled *Quintrio*: Haag 38.

In extreme northern and eastern Gaul, in northwestern Italy, and in Rætia this *w* apparently remained unchanged in the Vulgar Latin period; elsewhere, through a reinforcement of its velar element, it became *gw*: *warjan* > **warire* *guarire*, *wërra* > *wërra guerra*, *wisa* > **wisa guisa*.

Through association with Germanic words, the β of some Latin words was changed to *w*: *vadum* + *watan* > **wadum*, *vastare* + *wost-* > **wastare*, etc.

See E. Mackel, *Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und provenzalischen Sprache*, 1884; W. Waltemath, *Die fränkischen Elemente in der französischen Sprache*, 1885; W. Bruckner, *Charakteristik der germanischen Elemente im Italienischen*, 1899.

IV. MORPHOLOGY.

A. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

* I. GENDER.

345. The three genders of Latin were not, in the main, dependent on sex or lack of sex. They were grammatical distinctions, whose observance was a matter of outward form. If words lost their differentiating terminations, confusion of gender ensued.

a. MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

346. Between masculine and feminine there was not much confusion, but there were some important shifts:—

(1) Feminines of the second declension nearly all became masculine: *fraxinus*, etc.; cf. *castaneus* for *castanea*, Bon. 194. Feminines of the fourth declension varied (*Gram.* II, 461): *dōmus*, *fīcus*, *manus*.

(2) In Gaul, abstract nouns in *-or*, through the analogy of the great majority of abstract terms, became feminine (Bon. 503–504): *color*, *honor*, *Lat. Spr.* 483; *dolor*, *timor*, Bon. 504.

(3) Nouns that had a proparoxytonic accusative in *-erem*, *-icem*, *-inem*, *-orem*, or *-urem* were of uncertain gender (*Gram.* II, 464–467): *carcērem*, *pulicem*, *marginem*, *lepōrem*, *turtūrem*.

(4) There were some sporadic changes: *duos arbores*, Pirson 157; *cucullus* and *cuculla*, G. 293; *fons* feminine in late Latin, *Lat. Spr.* 483; *grex* became feminine.

(5) See also § 351.

b. MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

347. In Classic Latin a number of neuters became masculine: *balteum* -us, *caseum* -us, *cornu* -um -us, *frenum* -i, *nasum* -us, *tergum* -us, *vadum* -us; cf. *collus* -um, *lectus* -um.

In popular and late Latin this tendency was strong: ante-Classic, m. *papaver*; Plautus, m. *guttur*, *dorsus* (*Mil. Glor.* II, 4, 44), *lactem* (*Bacch.* V, 2, 16); Varro, m. *murmur*; Petronius, *balneus*, *cælus*, *fatus*, *lactem*, *vasus* -um, *vinus*, etc., Waters Ch. 39, 41, 42, 57, *Densusianu* 129, 132; *collus*, *me[nt]us*, etc., Audolent 545; MARIS, MAREM, *Densusianu* 132; *castellus*, *fænus*, *lignus*, *signus*, *templus*, *verbus*, *vinus*, etc., R. 266; *sulphurem*, G. 293; *frigorem*, *maris* nom. sg., *marmorem*, *pectorem*, *roborem*, Bon. 348; *incipit iudicius*, etc., D'Arbois 135. Beside *lūmen*, *nōmen*, *pīper* there must have been **lūminem*, **nōminem*, **pīperem*.

Conversely we find *cīnus*, n., for *cīnis*, *cīner*, m.; there must have been a **pūlvus*, n., beside *pūlvis*, m. and f. (*Lat. Spr.* 483); Petronius has *thesaurum*, Waters Ch. 46. Cf. *gladium*, *laqueum*, *puteum*, *thesaurum*, etc., R. 270-272.

Cf. Bon. 345-349, 507-509. For the confusion of masculine and neuter in Africa, see *Archiv* VIII, 173.

348. The transition from masculine to neuter was facilitated by the fall of final *m* (§ 309), and also by the fall of final *s* in the regions where that phenomenon occurred (§ 298). These changes reduced considerably the distinguishing marks of the two genders:—

<i>filiu(s)</i>	<i>foliu</i>	<i>come(s)</i>	<i>corpu(s)</i>
<i>fili</i>	<i>folii</i>	<i>comiti(s)</i>	<i>corpori(s)</i>
<i>filio</i>	<i>folio</i>	<i>comiti</i>	<i>corpori</i>
<i>filiu</i>	<i>foliu</i>	<i>comite</i>	<i>corpu(s)</i>
<i>filio</i>	<i>folio</i>	<i>comite</i>	<i>corpore</i>
<i>fili</i>	<i>folia</i>	<i>comite(s)</i>	<i>corpora</i>
<i>filioru</i>	<i>folioru</i>	<i>comitu</i>	<i>corporu</i>
<i>filii(s)</i>	<i>folii(s)</i>	<i>comitibu(s)</i>	<i>corporibu(s)</i>
<i>filio(s)</i>	<i>folia</i>	<i>comite(s)</i>	<i>corpora</i>
<i>filii(s)</i>	<i>folii(s)</i>	<i>comitibu(s)</i>	<i>corporibu(s)</i>

In the second declension the only difference is in the nominative singular and the nominative and accusative plural; and in Italy and Dacia the distinction disappears even in the nominative singular. In the third declension the genders are distinguished only in the accusative singular and the nominative and accusative plural.

349. Thus the masculine and neuter inflections came to be fused, the characteristic neuter plural *-a* being regarded as an alternative masculine plural ending: Petronius writes *nervia* for *nervi*, Waters Ch. 45; cf. *rivus rivotra*, Zs. XXX, 635. So *lōcus*, *mūrus*, for instance, give in Italian: sg. *luogo*, *muro*; pl. *luoghi* *luogora*, *muri mura*. Cf. § 351.

Nearly all neuters became masculine: *os locutus est*, R. 266; *donum cælestem*, etc., R. 277; *hunc sæculum*, *hunc stagnum*, *hunc verbum*, *hunc vulnere*, Bon. 386, 348. *Mare*, however, perhaps influenced by *terra*, generally became feminine: *maris*, m. and f., Densusianu 132; *mare*, f., Haag 48. Greek neuters in *-ma*, if popular, generally became feminine: *cyma*, *sagma*.

The loss of the neuter gender for nouns was probably not complete until early Romance times. Cf. *Archiv* III, 161.

350. Among pronouns, the neuter forms were kept to express an indefinite idea: *hōc*, *id ipsum*, *illud* or *illum*, *quid*, *quod*.

Neuter adjective forms were used for a similar purpose: in the early stages of the Romance languages we find phrases pointing to such Vulgar Latin constructions as **mihi est grave quod ille non veniat*, etc.

c. FEMININE AND NEUTER.

351. Classic Latin often used not only the singular for the plural in a collective sense (as *eques*, *miles*, etc., in Livy: cf. Draeger I, 4), but also the collective plural for the singular

(as *frigora*, *marmora*, *rura*: cf. Draeger I, 5-9; *Archiv* XIV, 63). So the neuter plural forms in *-a* were preserved in their collective use after the neuter singular forms had disappeared.

This formation in *-a* was extended to many masculine (cf. § 349) and even to some feminine nouns: *digita*, *fructa*, *fusa*, *grada* occur in late Latin, *Lat. Spr.* 482. Cf. Old Fr. *crigne* < ? **crīnea* = *crīnes*; It. *dita*, *frutta*, etc.; Sardinian, Apulian, Rumanian *frunza* < ? **frondia* = *frondes*.

352. In late Latin and early Romance this collective plural in *-a* came to be taken for a feminine singular: *tribula* sg., R. 269; *gaudia* sg., Bon. 351; *ligna . . . ardet* (cf. *rama*), *Gl. Reich.*; *hic est iesta*, D'Arbois 10; cf. *ne forte et mihi hæc eveniat*, etc., R. 435. The feminine character of such words was doubtless reinforced by the use, for instance, of an **illa pectora* to match *quæ pectora*: *Chronologie* 199. Conversely, *palpebrum* for *palpebra* occurs, R. 270.

Hence arose such feminine singular forms as **brachia*, **folia*, *gaudia*, *gesta*, *ligna*, etc., for which a new plural was created: *brachias*, Audollent 548; *armentas*, *membras*, *Gl. Cassel*; *ingenias*, *simulachras*, *Gl. Reich.*

In most of the Romance territory the *-a* forms were kept only as feminine singulars, but many were preserved as plurals in central and southern Italy and Rumania.

353. Aside from these, few neuter nouns became feminine: *marmor*, f., occurs in late Latin, *Lat. Spr.* 483. For *mare* and Greek neuters in *-ma*, see § 349. For *cinus* = *cinis*, **pulvus* = *pulvis*, see § 347.

2. DECLENSION OF NOUNS.

354. For the use of cases, see §§ 85-100. By the end of the Vulgar Latin period the cases were generally reduced,

except in Dacia, to two,—a nominative and an accusative-
ablative,—the plural following the analogy of the singular.
In Dacia the dative singular was to some extent preserved
also: § 91. Cf. K. Sittl in *Archiv* II, 550.

355. The number of declensions was reduced to three, the
fourth and fifth being absorbed by the others.

(1) The transfer from the fourth to the second began in
Classic Latin and continued in vulgar and late speech: *dōmus*,
fīcus, so *frūcti*, *senāti*; *gustus* in Petronius; *manos*, Audollent
544; *jusso*, *passos*, Bechtel 86; *cornum*, *fructo fructos*, *gelus*,
genum, *gradus*, *senatus*, *spiritus*, etc., R. 260–262, 270; *lacus*,
mercatus, G. 282–283; *jusso*, *lucto*, etc., Bon. 135. All the
fourth declension eventually went over. One result of the
intermediate confusion was an accusative plural spelling *-us*
for *-os*, which was very common in Gaul: Bon. 337–338.

(2) The transfer of nouns in *-ies* from the fifth to the first
declension began also in Classic Latin: *effigies -ia*, *luxuries -ia*,
materies -ia. *Acia*, *facia*, *glacia*, *scabia* are attested later: Den-
susianu 133, *Lat. Spr.* 482. All passed over in the greater
part of the Empire; but *-ies* was kept in the Spanish penin-
sula, in southern Italy and Sardinia, and occasionally in
southern Gaul, being assimilated to the third declension: cf.
Sp. haz, Pr. *glatz*, etc. *Dies* maintained itself, as a third
declension noun, beside *dia*.

Fifth declension nouns not in *-ies* went into the third: *res*
rem, *spes spem*, etc. There was also an inflection *spes*
spene(m), whence Italian *spene* (cf. SPENI): W. Heræus in
Archiv XIII, 152.

356. The other declensions generally held their own, but
there were a few shifts:—

(1) For an inflection *mama mamāne(m)*, etc., see § 359.

(2) For an inflection *Bellus Bellōne(m)*, etc., see § 362. Beside *ervum ervi*, there was an *ervus ervoris*: *Lat. Spr.* 483. *Fīmus fīmi*, under the influence of *stērcus*, apparently became *fēmūs* (*Gl. Reich.*) **fēmōris*: cf. Old Fr. *fiens*, Pr. *femps*. *Fündus fündi* perhaps became *fündus* **fündōris*: Old Fr. *fonz*, Pr. *fons*, Fr. *effondrer*. Beside *terminus -i*, there was a *termen terminis*.

(3) On the other hand, *ōs* > *ōssum* (R. 259–260), *vas* > *vasum* *vasus* (Waters Ch. 57); so apparently *ros* > **rōsum* (cf. Fr. *arroser*, It. *rugiada*, etc.); beside *coclear* there was *cocleārium*. *Caput* became *capus* (Pirson 238) and **capum -i*: cf. *Ltblt.* XXVII, 367. *Corpo* for *corpore* occurs in the *Per.*: Bechtel 86.

Greek nouns of the third declension sometimes passed into the first: *absis* > *absida*, G. 280; *lampas* > *lampada*, R. 258–259, G. 280, Dubois 258; *pyxis* > **buxida*; *siren* > *sirena*, G. 280. So a few Latin nouns: *juventus* or *-tas* > *juventa*, likewise *tempesta* (*Gl. Reich.*) and probably **potesta*; but the old forms were retained also. *Puulva* for *pūlvīs* is recorded by Audollent 416.

a. FIRST DECLENSION.

357. In countries which did not lose final *s* (§ 298), the accusative plural form came to be used as a nominative plural. This use was due in the main to the analogy of the singular, where there was only one form, and of feminine nouns of the third declension, which had only one form in the plural: *filia filia(m)*, *matres matres*, hence *filiās filias*. So *linguas*, Audollent 546. It probably was not common until late Vulgar Latin or early Romance times.

In Italy and Dacia, where the fall of *-s* made the accusative plural identical with the singular, the nominative plural was kept instead.

(1) According to Mohl, *Chronologie* 205-209, the nominative plural in *-as* was probably old in some parts of Italy: SCALAS, nom., 57 B.C.; LIBERTI LIBERTASQVE, Dalmatia; HIC QVESCUNT DVS MRES DVAS FILIAS, Africa. M. Bréal, *Journal des savants* 1900, Feb., p. 70, affirms that there was a feminine in *-a* with a plural in *-as* in Oscan, and also in Latin down to the second century B. C.; Celtic, too, had a similar plural. D'Arbois 21-24 assumes Celtic influence: *hic sunt cartas*, etc. No foreign or dialect influences are needed to explain the practice, but they may have helped its diffusion.

358. An ablative in *-abus* is occasionally found: *Cassiabus*, *feminabus*, *filiabus*, *pupillabus*, *Archiv* VIII, 171; *deabus*, *filiabus*, etc., Pirson 115-116; *animabus*, *famulabus*, *filiabus*, *vilabus*, Bon. 331. This form left no traces in the Romance languages.

359. Feminine proper names and words denoting persons often developed, rather late, an inflection in *-ánis*, etc., or *-énis*, etc., probably under the influence of the consonantal declension of Greek names that was in vogue in schools. Pupils were taught to inflect *Glaucé Glaucénis*, *Nicé Nicénis*, etc. (R. 264); cf. Dante's *Semelé*, etc.: hence arose *Anna Annánis* or *-énis*, *mamma mammánis*, *amita *amitánis* (so *Juliana Julianenis* in Pirson 143), cf. W. Heræus in *Zs. fr. Spr.* XXV, ii, 136. Some masculine person-names in *-a* had the same declension (*Einf.* 150, § 153): *barba barbani*, *sacrista *sacristanis* (cf. It. *sacristano*), *scriba *scribanis* (cf. It. *scrivano*). Both *mamani* and *tatani* are found in the third century: W. Heræus in *Archiv* XIII, 152-153. See G. Paris, *Les accusatifs en -ain*, *Rom.* XXIII, 321; E. Philipon, *Les accusatifs en -on et en -ain*, *Rom.* XXXI, 201; W. Meyer-Lübke in *Ltblt.* XXV, 206; G. Salvioni in *Rom.* XXXV, 198. In *Lat. Spr.* 483, Meyer-Lübke expresses doubt whether the feminine *-a -anis* is connected with masculine *tatani*, etc.

This feminine inflection left some traces in Gaul, Rætia, and

Italy: Fr. *nonnain*, *putain*, etc.; Lombard *madrane*, etc., *Rom.* XXXV, 207.

(1) G. Salvioni, *La declinazione imparisillaba in -a -áne, -o -óne, -e éne -íne, -i íne -éne*, *Rom.* XXXV, 198, shows that these forms of declension were very common in the mediæval Latin documents of all parts of Italy, from 750 on: *amítane*, 218; *Andreani*, 216; *barbane*, 214-215; *domnani*, 219; *Joanneni*, 250; etc. *Attane*, *barbane* still exist at both ends of Italy. According to Salvioni, the starting-point of all this inflection was *bárba barbánis*, from which it was extended to other nouns of relationship and to proper names; *bárba barbánis* itself he would ascribe to the influence of the synonymous **bárbo* **barbónis*.

(2) A. Zimmermann, *Zs.* XXVIII, 343, shows that there was also an inflection in *-átis*, *-étis*, and *-ótis*: *Aureliati*, *Agneti*, etc. Cf. *Eugeneti* from *Eugenes*, *R.* 264, Dubois 250; *Andreate*, *Rom.* XXXV, 216; also *Joannentis*, *Rom.* XXXV, 250.

360. In general, at the beginning of the Romance period, the first declension was reduced to this pattern:—

<i>luna</i>	<i>facia</i>	* <i>folia</i>
<i>luna</i>	<i>facia</i>	<i>folia</i>
<i>lune lunas</i>	<i>facie facias</i>	<i>folie folias</i>
<i>luna(s)</i>	<i>facia(s)</i>	<i>folia(s)</i>

In Dacia the dative singular (*lune*, etc.) was kept also.

b. SECOND DECLENSION.

361. As neuter nouns became masculine, they assumed, partly in Vulgar Latin but mostly in Romance, the masculine inflection in those countries where the masculine and neuter differed: *vinus*, etc. Cf. §§ 347-349.

The plural in *-a*, however, was retained to a considerable extent, especially in southern and central Italy and Dacia. Some masculines took this *-a*, by the analogy of *braccia*, etc.: **botella*, **botula*, *digita*, *fructa*, *rama*, etc. Cf. §§ 349, 351-352.

362. From the seventh century on,—perhaps under Germanic influence combined with the analogy of the Latin type

gúlo gulónis, etc.,—there developed in Gaul, Rætia, Italy, and possibly Spain, a declension *-us* (or *-o*) *-ónis* for masculine proper names: *Húgo Húgon* was Latinized into *Húgo Hugóne(m)* (cf. § 152); *avus avi* > *avo avonis*, attested in Lucca in 776 (*Rom.* XXXV, 204); hence *Pétrus* or *Pétro Petróne(m)*, *Paulus* or *Paulo Paulóne(m)*, etc. Cf. Pirson 133: *Bellus Belloni*, *Firmus Firmonis*. See E. Philippon in *Rom.* XXXI, 201; G. Salvioni in *Rom.* XXXV, 198.

Traces of this inflection are to be seen especially in French and Provençal proper names: *Foucon*, *Huon*, etc. So perhaps Italian *Donatoni*, *Giovannoni*, etc., and possibly Corsican *baboni*, *suceroni*: *Rom.* XXXV, 212–213.

363. In general, at the beginning of the Romance period, the second declension followed this pattern:—

<i>annu(s)</i>	<i>faße(r)</i>	<i>vinu(s)</i>	<i>bracciu *—us</i>	<i>fructu(s)</i>
<i>annu —o</i>	<i>fabru —o</i>	<i>vinu —o</i>	<i>bracciu —o</i>	<i>fructu —o</i>
<i>anni</i>	<i>fabri</i>	<i>vini</i>	<i>braccia —i</i>	<i>fructi —a</i>
<i>anno(s)</i>	<i>fabro(s)</i>	<i>vino(s)</i>	<i>braccia —o(s)</i>	<i>fructo(s) —a</i>

The letters enclosed in parentheses were silent in Italy and Dacia. In Gaul the accusative plural ending was often spelled *-us*: Bon. 337–338; cf. § 355, (1).

c. THIRD DECLENSION.

364. In the ablative there was considerable confusion of *-ī* and *-ē* in Classic Latin: *marī marē*, *turrī turrē*, etc. This was carried further in common speech: cf. *Vok.* II, 85, 87. The ablative in *-ē* finally triumphed, but there are some traces of *-ī*: It. *parī*, etc.

365. In the accusative plural there was still greater confusion of *-īs* and *-ēs* (*nubēs nubīs*, etc.), both in Classic and in Vulgar Latin: cf. *Vok.* I, 247–249. Apparently *-ēs* crowded out the rarer *-īs*, which left no sure traces.

Italian *pani*, etc., Rumanian *pîni*, etc., are best explained, as by Tiktin 565-566, through the analogy of the second declension: see § 368. Cf. *folli* for *folles* in *Gl. Reich*.

366. In the nominative singular the common *-īs* largely displaced the less frequent *-ēs*: *Vok.* I, 244-247, III, 116; *Caper*, "*fames non famis*," *Keil* VII, 105; *App. Pr.*, "*nubes non nubis*"; *ædis*, *famis*, *nubis*, etc., *R.* 263; *famis*, etc., *Sepulcri* 220.

As *-ēs* and *-īs* came to be pronounced alike before the end of the Vulgar Latin period (cf. §§ 174, 243), it is futile to trace the Romance forms phonetically to one source rather than the other.

367. Nouns which added a syllable in the genitive, without a change of accent, tended in popular speech to use for the nominative a form in *-is*, *-es*, or *-e* fashioned on the model of the oblique cases: so *sæps* > *sæpes*, *stîps* > *stîpes*; *Jovis*, nom., in *Ennius*, *Varro*, *Petronius* (*Waters* Ch. 47); *lacte* in *Ennius*, *Plautus*, *Petronius* (*Waters* Ch. 38), *Apuleius*, *Aulus Gellius*; *bovis* in *Varro*, *Petronius* (*Waters* Ch. 62); *carnis* in *Livy*; *stirpis* in *Livy*, *Prudentius*; *suis* in *Prudentius* (*F. D'Ovidio* in *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro D'Ancona* 627); *lentis* in *Priscian*; *calcis* in *Venantius Fortunatus*; *divite*, etc., *Audollent* 545-547; "*grus non gruis*," *App. Pr.*; *principens* (= *principis*), *R.* 263; *antestetis*, *superstitis*, *Vok.* III, 9; *urbis*, *Haag* 45; *pedis*, *travis* (three times), *Gl. Reich.*; cf. *Chronologie* 203, *Lat. Spr.* 481. These forms prevailed in Romance, perhaps in late popular Latin.

In Vulgar Latin this formation was extended to words with a shift of accent: *excellente* for *excellens* in *Petronius*, *Waters* Ch. 45, 66; *audace*, *castore*, *latrone*, *victore*, *voluntate*, etc., *Audollent* 545-547; *heredes*, *R.* 263; *cardonis*, *papilionis* (cf. *aculionis* for *aculeus*), *Gl. Reich.*; *heredes*, etc., *D'Arbois* 85-88.

These forms, too, prevailed in Romance, except for names of persons, which, being used mainly in the nominative and vocative, retained and generally preferred the old nominative form: *hōmo*, *sōror*, etc.; *cantātor*, *servītor*, etc. But names of persons in *-ans* and *-ens* usually made over the nominative: *parentis*, etc. (also *presentis*, etc.), D'Arbois 85-88; so, no doubt, **amantis*, etc. (also **clamantis*, etc.), but *infans* (also *prægnans*).

368. In most of the Romance languages (but not Spanish), masculine nouns made over their nominative plural on the model of the second declension, which was regarded as the normal masculine type: *fīlii*, hence **patri*; *lŭpi*, hence **cani*; *anni*, hence **mē(n)si*.

The process may have begun in the Vulgar Latin period, but there is virtually no evidence that it started so early: in late Latin, however, *elifanti* is common, according to Bon. 367; *parentorum* is frequent in charters; in the *Gl. Cassel*, made in Italy in the eighth or ninth century, we find *sapienti*.

369. Neuters in *-n* and *-s* regularly kept their nominative-accusative singular, as *nōme(n)*, *cōrpūs cōrpu(s)*; for **lŭmīne(m)*, **nōmīne(m)*, beside the old forms, see § 347. For the nominative-accusative plural, however, they constructed, probably in late Vulgar Latin or early Romance, new forms on the masculine pattern, as **nōmes* **nōme(s)*, **cōrpes* **cōrpe(s)*; but in Italy and Rumania the old ones, especially those in *-ōra*, were kept also (*Lat. Spr.* 482). In these countries *-ora* was used as a plural ending (It. *corpo*, *corpi* *corpora*; Rum. *timp*, *timpurī*), and was extended in Old Italian to the second, in Rumanian to both the second and first declensions: cf. Tiktin 566.

Neuters in *-r*, which apparently became masculine or

feminine earlier than the others, often developed an accusative singular in *-e(m)* as well as a nominative-accusative plural in *-es*: *marmorem*, Bon. 348, Zauner 30; *papaverem*, Plautus, *Pæn.* I, 2, 113; **piperem*; *sulphurem*, G. 293; cf. § 347. But *marmor*, etc., were kept also. *Cōr* apparently made its plural **cōres* instead of **cōrdes*: according to Mohl, *Lexique* 21-38, the word shows no trace of *d* in any of the Romance languages, except Spanish *cuerdo*, and so probably goes back to an Old Latin **cōr* **cōris* = κῆρ κῆρος; the open *o* would possibly be explained as due to a cross between this **cōr* and the Classic *cōr*.

Caput became **capu(m)* or *capus* (Pirson 238), and passed into the second declension: cf. § 356, (3).

370. A few feminines in *-is* apparently became neuters in *-us*, but the original forms were kept also: *cīnis* *cīnus*; *pūlvīs* **pūlvus*, whence Sp. *polvo*, Old Fr. *pols* (It. *polve* may come from *pūlver*).

Incus, *incūdis* > *incūdo*, *incūdinis*: Lat. *Spr.* 483.

Sanguis, *sanguīne(m)* also *sanguē(m)*.

371. In general, at the beginning of the Romance period, the third declension must have gone about as follows (*-īs* and *-ēs* having coincided in the pronunciation *-es*):—

(1) NO CHANGE OF ACCENT.

NO CHANGE OF STEM.

THINGS.

PERSONS.

<div><div>cane(s)</div><div>cane</div><div>fine(s)</div><div>fine</div><div>res</div><div>rem re</div></div>			<div><div>pate(r)</div><div>patre</div><div>mate(r)</div><div>matre</div></div>	
cane(s)	fine(s)	res	patre(s)	matre(s)
cane(s)	fine(s)	res	patre(s)	matre(s)

CHANGE OF STEM.

THINGS.			PERSONS.	
<i>pede(s)</i>	* <i>arte(s)</i>	<i>corpu(s)</i>	<i>come(s)</i>	<i>vergo</i>
<i>pede</i>	<i>arte</i>	<i>corpu(s)</i>	<i>cómite</i>	<i>vérGINE</i>
<i>pede(s)</i>	<i>arte(s)</i>	* <i>corpe(s)</i> <i>córpōra</i>	<i>cómite(s)</i>	<i>vérGINE(s)</i>
<i>pede(s)</i>	<i>arte(s)</i>	<i>corpe(s)</i> <i>córpōra</i>	<i>cómite(s)</i>	<i>vérGINE(s)</i>

(2) CHANGE OF ACCENT.

THINGS.		PERSONS.		
* <i>sermóne(s)</i>	* <i>ratíone(s)</i>	<i>amátō(r)</i>	<i>sorō(r)</i>	<i>parente(s)</i>
<i>sermóne</i>	<i>ratíone</i>	<i>amatóre</i>	<i>soróre</i>	<i>parente</i>
<i>sermóne(s)</i>	<i>ratíone(s)</i>	<i>amatóre(s)</i>	<i>soróre(s)</i>	<i>parente(s)</i>
<i>sermóne(s)</i>	<i>ratíone(s)</i>	<i>amatóre(s)</i>	<i>soróre(s)</i>	<i>parente(s)</i>

Letters enclosed in parentheses were silent in Italy and Dacia.

d. LOSS OF DECLENSION.

372. In Italy and Dacia, through the dropping of final *r* and *s*, declension nearly disappeared before the end of the Vulgar Latin period: cf. Audollent 545–547, nom. *alumni*, *Glaucu*, *Romanu*, etc. It was probably lost altogether soon after, although a few double forms still remain: e. g., It. *ladro*, *ladrone*.

It disappeared early in Spain also. In most of Gaul it lasted through the twelfth century and later.

373. In Gaul and Spain the forms preserved were the accusative singular and the accusative plural. In Italy and Rumania, for phonetic reasons, the surviving cases are the accusative singular and the nominative plural.

There are, however, not a few examples of the nominative singular of names of persons.

3. DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES.

374. Adjectives were declined after the same model as nouns. As neuter nouns assumed masculine endings (§ 347), the neuter adjective forms were less and less used; the neuter singular, however, was kept to represent a whole idea (cf. § 350), and the neuter plural (as *omnia*) was doubtless employed from time to time as an indefinite collective.

375. The principal types are:—

(1) THREE GENDERS.

	-us -a -um	
<i>bonu(s)</i>	<i>bona</i>	<i>bonu</i>
<i>bonu -o</i>	<i>bona</i>	<i>bonu -o</i>
<i>boni</i>	<i>bone -as</i>	<i>bona</i>
<i>bono(s)</i>	<i>bona(s)</i>	<i>bona</i>

So superlatives, as *optimus*, -a, -um.

	-er -a -um	
<i>libe(r)</i>	<i>libra</i>	<i>libru</i>
<i>libru -o</i>	<i>libra</i>	<i>libru -o</i>
<i>libri</i>	<i>libre libras</i>	<i>libra</i>
<i>libro(s)</i>	<i>libra(s)</i>	<i>libra</i>

So *ager*, *ægra*, *ægrum*.

	-er -is -e	
<i>ace(r)</i>	<i>acre(s)</i>	<i>acre</i>
<i>acre</i>	<i>acre</i>	<i>acre</i>
<i>acre(s)</i>	<i>acre(s)</i>	<i>acriā</i>
<i>acre(s)</i>	<i>acre(s)</i>	<i>acriā</i>

(2) TWO GENDERS.

<i>triste(s)</i>	<i>triste</i>
<i>triste</i>	<i>triste</i>
<i>triste(s)</i>	<i>tristia</i>
<i>triste(s)</i>	<i>tristia</i>

(3) Originally ONE GENDER in the Nominative Singular.

*felice(s)	fēlis	*prudente(s)	prude(s)
felice	fēlis	prudente	prude(s)
felice(s)	felicia	prudente(s)	prudentia
felice(s)	felicia	prudente(s)	prudentia

(4) COMPARATIVES apparently did not reconstruct the Nominative Singular:—

mēlio(r)	mēliu(s)
meliore	mēliu(s)
meliore(s)	meliōra
meliore(s)	meliōra

376. There was a good deal of confusion of types in Latin times: beside *alacer*, m. and f., there was *alacris*, m. and f., and there was probably also a feminine **alacra* and **alecra*. *Pauper* early developed a feminine *paupera* and later a neuter *pauperum*: *paupera*, *pauperum*, *pauperorum*, R. 275 (cf. *pauperorum*, Waters Ch. 46). *Macer*, *miser*, *sacer* passed into the *-us -a -um* class, Densusianu 142; so *tæter* > *tetrus*, *App. Pr.* *Declivis*, *effrēnis*, *imbecillis* also assumed the *-us -a -um* inflection in the Latin period; so *tristis* > *tristus*, *App. Pr.* Cf. *celerus*, *gracilus*, *præstus*, *sublimus*, etc., and conversely *benignis*, *infirmis*, etc., R. 274. *Præcox* developed a feminine *præcoca*: Neue II, 162.

In the Romance languages more adjectives went over to the *-us -a -um* type: Pr. *comuna*, *doussa*, etc.

4. COMPARISON.

377. For the new method of comparison, see § 56. The Romance type, not completely evolved in Vulgar Latin, was:—

<i>carus</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} plus \\ magis \end{array} \right\} carus$	<i>ille</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} plus \\ magis \end{array} \right\} carus$
--------------	---	-------------	---

However, the Classic Latin comparatives of many common adjectives remained in use: *altior*, *gravior* *grevior*, *grossior* (G. 285), *levior*, *longior*, *major*, *melior*, *minor*, *pejor*. So the adverbs: *longius*, *magis*, *melius*, *minus*, *pejus*, *sordidius*, *vivacius*, etc. The old superlatives remained to a considerable extent, in the clerical language, as intensives: *altissimus*, *carissimus*, *pessimus*, *proximus*, *sanctissimus*.

5. NUMERALS.¹

378. *Unus* was probably declined like *bonus*. It was used also as an indefinite article (§ 57) and an indefinite pronoun (cf. § 71).

Dŭo came to be replaced by *dŭi*, attested in the third century: *Archiv* IX, 558 (cf. II, 107). Its inflection at the end of the Vulgar Latin period was probably:—

<i>dui doi (duo?)</i>	<i>due doe duas doas</i>	<i>dua doa</i>
<i>duo(s)</i>	<i>dua(s) doa(s)</i>	<i>dua doa</i>

In early Romance there was doubtless much confusion of the forms.

379. The numbers between two and twenty were as follows:—

Trēs probably developed a nominative **trei*, on the model of *dui*.

Quattuor became *quattor* (*Archiv* VII, 65), also *quatro* (Carnoy 221), **quattro*.

Quīnque, by dissimilation, became *cīnque* (*Archiv* VII, 66); so *cinquaginta* (*Archiv* VII, 70). Cf. § 254.

Sēx, *sēpte* (and **sētte*), *ōcto* (and **ōtto*), *nōve*, *dēce* offer no peculiarities. Cf. *Archiv* VII, 68.

Beside *ūndēce* there seems to have been **ūndēce*.

For *dōdēce*, see § 225.

Trēdēce is regular.

¹ See M. Ihm, *Vulgärformen lateinischer Zahlwörter auf Inschriften* in *Archiv* VII, 65.

Quattuordċim regularly became **quattōrdċe* (cf. § 225), but also **quattōrdċe*.

Quīndċe is regular.

Beside *sċdċe* there was **dċe et* (or *ac*) *sċx*.

Septendċim, etc., went out of use; also *unus de viginti*, etc.: G. 400. Priscian (Keil III, 412) mentions *decem et septem*. Beside this *dċe et sċpte* there was **dċe ac sċpte*; so **dċe et* (or *ac*) *ōcto*, **dċe et* (or *ac*) *nōve*.

380. The tens, beginning with 20, are irregular: cf. § 142.

Vīgintī, *trīgīnta* regularly became *viīnti*, *triīnta* (§ 259): *βειεντι* occurs in a sixth century document of Ravenna, *Vok.* II, 461; *trienta*, *Archiv* VII, 69. These forms easily contracted into *vin̄ti*, *trin̄ta* (*vinti*, *trinta*: *Archiv* VII, 69), which account in general for the Italian, Provençal, and French words; Rumanian has new formations. But beside these we must assume for Spanish something like **vīnti*, **trīnta*, with an opening of the first *i* and an early shift of accent, probably anterior to the fall of the *g*; *trīgīnta* is, in fact, mentioned as a faulty pronunciation by Consentius, Keil V, 392. Cf. G. Rydberg in *Mélanges Wahlund* 337.

This change of accent apparently occurred everywhere for the subsequent tens: **quadráinta*, **cinquáinta*, **sexáinta*, **septáinta* **settáinta*, **octáinta* **ottáinta*, **nonáinta* **nováinta*; the *septua*- and the *octo*- of 70 and 80 were made to conform to the type of the others. Outside of the Spanish peninsula -*áinta* apparently became -*ánta*. Furthermore the *dr* of **quadráinta* became *rr*: *quarranta* is found in an inscription, perhaps of the fifth century (Pirson 97; *Zs. fr. Spr.* XXV, ii, 136; *Archiv* VII, 69).

381. *Cċntu* was regular. For *ducċnti*, *trecċnti*, etc., there were probably new formations, such as **dūi cċntu*, etc.

Mille was regular. For its plural it had **dūi mīlle* or **dūi mīl(l)ia*, etc.

382. The ordinal numerals, after 5th, were probably not very commonly used: the Romance languages show many new formations; in northern Italian, Provençal, and Catalan the distributive ending *-ēnus* was employed (*septēnus* for *septīmus*, etc.).

Prīmus, *secūndus*, *tērtius*, *quartus*, *quīntus* were generally kept, inflected like *bōnus*; but some languages have new formations even for these.

The ordinals were best preserved in Italy.

B. PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

383. The nominative and accusative remained; and the dative was preserved in personal, demonstrative, relative, and interrogative pronouns. The ablative gave way to the dative and accusative. The genitive was usually lost; but *cūjus* was kept, and so was the genitive singular and plural of *ille*, *ipse*, and *iste*.

I. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

N. B. — For the *use* of personal pronouns, see § 60.

384. As the pronouns came to be expressed more and more, *ille* and also *hic*, *ipse*, and *is* were used to supply the lacking pronoun of the third person: cf. §§ 60, 67. Examples occur as early as the second century: *Franz.* 2 II, 262. *Hōc* served as an indefinite neuter. *Inde* assumed the function of an indefinite genitive: *nemo inde dubitat*, Regnier 110.

385. *Ego* lost its *g* in all the territory, but probably not until the end of the Vulgar Latin period. According to Meyer-Lübke, *Lat. Spr.* 484, *eo* occurs in manuscripts of the sixth century.¹ See § 263.

¹ But his reference to *Vok.* I, 242 is incorrect.

In the last syllable of *tībī*, *sībī* the short *i* prevailed, and was carried into *nōbīs*, *vōbīs*. On the pattern of *mī* < *mihi*, there were formed *tī*, *sī* beside *tībī*, *sībī*; these are found, according to *Lat. Spr.* 484, from the sixth century on; cf. *Franz.* 2 II, 243-244.

386. The inflection was probably reduced to:—

<i>eo</i>	<i>nōs</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>vōs</i>		
<i>mī</i>	<i>nōbe(s)</i>	<i>tī tebe</i>	<i>vōbe(s)</i>	<i>sī sebe</i>	<i>sī sebe</i>
<i>mē</i>	<i>nōs</i>	<i>tē</i>	<i>vōs</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>sē</i>

2. POSSESSIVES.

387. *Mēus*, *tūus*, *sūus* were declined like *bōnus*; *nōster*, *vōster*, like *līber*. But *mī* was used, beside *mēus*, *mēa*, as a masculine and feminine vocative (G. 281-282); *mi domīna* is common, G. 282, Dubois 261-262. For the plural of the third person, *illōru* came, in the Romance languages except Spanish, to replace *sūus*, etc.

By the analogy of *mēus*, there was a *seus*: *C. I. L.* XII, 5692, 9; cf. *siæ*, IX, 3472.

Sous is found in Gaul, *Žs. fr. Spr.* XXV, ii, 135: perhaps it is only a phonetic spelling of *sous* < *suus*, but it may represent a pronunciation *sous* with an *o* opened by dissimilation (cf. § 167). There doubtless was a **tous* also.

Vester disappeared. Vulgar Latin *vōster* may be a survival of the Old Latin *vōster*, or a reconstruction on the model of *nōster*: cf. § 199, (1).

388. In archaic and popular Latin there was a short *sus sa sum*, probably used originally in the unaccented position: *sas*, *sīs* occur in Ennius, *sam* in Festus; *so* is found in *C. I. L.* V, 2007. There must have been similar short forms for the first and second persons singular: *mīs*, indeed, is used by Ennius.

The full inflection is found in the sixth century: *Franz. 2 II, 244.*

These forms survived in Romance: Old It. *fratello, madrema*, etc.

3. DEMONSTRATIVES.

N. B.—For the *use* of demonstratives, see §§ 61–68. For their function as definite articles and personal pronouns, see §§ 60, 67–68, also § 392.

389. When *ille* and *iste* had a really demonstrative force, they came to be compounded usually with the prefix *ecc'* or *eccu'*: see § 65. Cf. *Franz. 2 II, 283–304.*

390. The inflection of *ille* developed considerably in popular speech. *Ipse* and *iste* followed a similar course; we find, however, the special forms *ipsus* for *ipse* and *ipsud* for *ipsum*, R. 276; *Franz. 2 II, 274.*

Ille, nom. sg. m., was partially replaced, probably in the second half of the sixth century, by *illī*, framed on the model of *quī*: Bon. 114, *illi* = *ille*, *ipsi* = *ipse*; cf. *Franz. 2 II, 246–260.*

Through the analogy of *cūjus*, *cūi*, the m. *illīus* gave way to *illūjus*, and the dat. sg. m. *illī* was replaced in part by *illūi*. The former, however, subsequently went out of use, and the latter is not found in Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Spanish peninsula. *Illius* (*ipsius*, *istius*), having become archaic in popular speech, sometimes occurred as a dative: *Franz. 2 II, 277–279.* There was another dative form, *illo*, used by Apuleius and others (Neue II, 427; R. 275; Quillacq 83); but it disappeared from late Latin, being confused with the ablative and the accusative. The Old Latin genitive *illi* (*ipsi*, *isti*), was abandoned: cf. *Franz. 2 II, 273, 275.*

In the dat. sg. f., beside *illī*, there was *illæ* (or *ille*), used by Cato and others (Neue II, 427; R. 275; Audollent 302); and from that, on the model of *illūi* (and perhaps of *quei*), was

made *illæi* (*illei*), which was used beside *illī* and *illæ*. In the genitive, on the same pattern (influenced perhaps by *quejus*), was constructed *illæjus* (*illejus*), which crowded out *illius*.

Illujus, *illui*, *illejus*, *illei* are found from the sixth century on: *Zs.* XXVI, 600, 619. Cf. *Lat. Spr.* 484: *illujus*, *illui*, *illejus*, *illæ*, *ille*; *ipsujus*, *ipseus*.

Illōrum displaced the f. *illārum*. It came, furthermore, to be used, in Romance, for the dat. m. and f. *illīs*, which, however, did not entirely disappear. In parts of northern Spain and southwestern France *illōrum* seems to have become **illūrum*, through the analogy of *illūjus*, *illūi*.

The neuter *illud* was replaced by *illum*: *Neue* II, 426; *R.* 276.

391. The popular inflection, at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, was something like this (brackets indicating forms not kept in Romance): —

<i>elle</i> <i>elli</i>	<i>ella</i>	<i>ellu</i>
[<i>ellujus</i>]	<i>ellejus</i>	
<i>elli</i> [<i>ello</i>] <i>ellui</i>	<i>elli</i> <i>elle</i> <i>ellei</i>	<i>elli</i>
<i>ellu</i> <i>ello</i>	<i>ella</i>	<i>ellu</i> <i>ello</i>
<i>elli</i>	<i>elle</i>	<i>ella</i>
<i>elloru</i> <i>elluru</i> ?	[<i>ellaru</i>] <i>elloru</i> <i>elluru</i> ?	
<i>elli(s)</i> <i>elloru</i>	<i>elli(s)</i>	
<i>ello(s)</i>	<i>ella(s)</i>	<i>ella</i>

392. When unaccented, these words tended to lose their first syllable (see § 157): *tū illam vidēs* > **tū 'la' vede(s)*; *vidēs tū ipsam clavem* > **vede(s) tū 'sa' clave'*? *Lui* and *lei* are found after the seventh century: *Franz.* 2 II, 281–283.

Ille and *ipse* were used freely as definite articles from the fourth century on: *Densusianu* 177. *Ille* prevailed, except in Sardinia, Majorca, a part of Catalonia and Gascony, and some dialects on the south shore of France. Cf. *Franz.* 2 II, 271–272.

4. INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

N. B. — For the *use* of these pronouns, and the substitution of *qui* for feminine *quæ*, see §§ 69–70.

393. In Christian inscriptions from the fifth century on, *quī* takes the place of *quīs*, and also of the feminine *quæ*. Beside *cūjus*, *cūi* is found a corresponding feminine *quejus*, *quei*: see Mohl in *Zs.* XXVI, 619.

The combined inflection of *quī* and *quīs*, by the end of the Vulgar Latin period, was probably reduced, in common speech, to something like this: —

<i>quī</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>quī</i>	<i>cōd quēd</i>
<i>cūju(s)</i>	<i>queju(s)</i>	<i>cūju(s)</i>	<i>cūju(s)</i>
<i>cūi</i>	<i>quei</i>	<i>cūi</i>	<i>cūi</i>
<i>que</i>	<i>qua</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>cōd quēd</i>
<i>cō?</i>	<i>qua</i>	<i>cō?</i>	<i>cō?</i>
<i>quī</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>quī</i>	<i>que</i>
<i>cōs?</i>	<i>quas?</i>	<i>cōs?</i>	<i>que</i>

The genitive was probably not used everywhere; perhaps it was kept only in Spain. *Unde* and *d'ūnde*, 'whence,' took the meaning 'of which': Bon. 580.

394. *Qualis*, inflected like *trīstis*, was used as an interrogative pronoun and adjective. In the Romance languages (*īl*)*le* + *qualis* came to be employed as a relative pronoun.

5. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

395. For these, see § 71. *Alter*, *nūllus*, *sōlus*, *tōtus*, *ūnus* doubtless developed an inflection like *bōnus*: gen. *nulli*, etc., R. 276; dat. *solo*, *toto*, *uno*, etc., R. 276–277. *Alter*, however, assumed a dative **altrūi*, on the model of *illūi*, etc.

C. VERBS.

1. THE FOUR CONJUGATIONS.

396. There was some confusion of conjugations; the first and fourth were least affected. In the *Peregrinatio* the second decidedly preponderates over the third (Bechtel 87); in other texts the third gains at the expense of the second.

The second gained most in Spain, the third in Italy, the fourth in Gaul. Eventually Spanish and Portuguese discarded the third, Sicilian and Sardinian the second.

New formations went into the first and fourth.

a. FIRST CONJUGATION.

397. The first conjugation generally held its own, defections being few and partial.

Beside *do*, *dant* and *sto*, *stant* there came into use **dao*, **daunt* and **stao*, **staunt*: Rum. *daŭ*, *staŭ*; Old It. *dao*; Pr. *dau*, *daun*, *estau*, *estaun*; Pg. *dou*, *estou*. Mohl, *Lexique* 47, would connect these forms with Umbrian *stahu*, but it seems more likely that they were late Latin formations due to an effort to keep the root vowel distinct from the ending. Cf. Probus, "*adno* non *adnao*," *Lexique* 47.

In northern Gaul there may have developed with **stao* a **stais* and a **stait*, on the analogy of (**vao*), **vais*, **vait* (see § 405): cf. *Lexique* 47-54.

The Italian present subjunctive *dia* from *dare* is associated by Mohl, *Lexique* 47 and *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 30, with Umbrian *dīa*. It is entirely possible, however, that the form is a later, Italian development due to the analogy of *sia*: see § 419, (2).

398. For new formations, — such as *abbreviare*, *follicare*, *werrizare*, etc., — see §§ 33-35. Germanic verbs in *-on* and in

—*an* (but not —*jan*) regularly went in the first conjugation: *roubôn* > It. *rubare*, *wītan* > It. *guidare*. Cf. § 36.

b. SECOND CONJUGATION.

399. Even in Classic Latin there was some confusion between the second conjugation and the third: *fervēre*, *tergēre*. In Vulgar Latin the second lost some verbs to the third in most of the territory: **ardēre*, **lucēre*, *lugēre* (R. 283), *miscēre* (R. 284), **mordēre*, **nocēre*, **ridēre*, *respondēre* (Bechtel 88: *responduntur*), *tondēre*, **torcēre* (for *torquēre*). Other verbs passed over locally or occasionally: *seditur*, Bechtel 88.

400. Some verbs went into the fourth, probably through the pronunciation of —*eo* as —*io* (see § 224): **complīre*, *florīre* (R. 284), **implīre*, **lucīre*, *lugīre* (R. 284), **putrīre*. The inchoative —*escēre* then became —*iscēre*: **florīscō*, *lucīscō*, **putrīscō*.

Habēre, at least in Italy, sometimes became *habīre*: *Vok.* I, 266 ff.; *havite*, *C. I. L.* V, 1636; *habibat*, *Itala*, Luke VI, 8; *avire* in many Italian dialects in which *e* does not phonetically become *i*, and even in early Tuscan (cf. E. Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli* I, p. 20, l. 10, etc). According to Mohl, *Lexique* 108–109, this is a peculiarity of ancient Umbrian.

401. While retaining *habeo*, *habet*, *habent*, the verb *habēre*, under the influence of *dare* and *stare*, adopted the forms **ho* or **hao*, **has*, **hat*, **hant* or **haunt*.

c. THIRD CONJUGATION.

402. The third conjugation gave a few verbs to the second, perhaps beginning with those that had a perfect in —*ui*, such as *cadere* **cadui*, *capere* **capui*, *sapere* *sapui*: *sapere* was influenced, especially in Italy, by *habēre*; *capere* may easily have imitated *sapere*, and *cadere* may have followed *capere*.

In Spain all the third conjugation verbs eventually passed into the second. This transition was probably helped by a partial fusion of *esse* and *sedere*.

403. The anomalous *pösse pötui, vëlle völui* naturally went over to the second conjugation, assumed the infinitive forms *potēre, *volēre*, and conformed their inflection more or less to the regular type. *Vëlle*, however, was discarded in Spain and Sardinia.

(1) *Potere, potebam* occur repeatedly in the sixth century (*Pr. Pers. Pl.* 24), *potebo* is found in the *Gl. Reich.*, *potebas* in Fredegarius (*Haag* 60). *Posso* for *pössum* is used by Gregory and Fredegarius (*Pr. Pers. Pl.* 24), *poteo* is attested in 745 A.D. (*Pr. Pers. Pl.* 25). The present indicative must have been inflected something like this:—

<i>pössu posso pöteo *pösseo</i>	<i>*potēmu(s)</i>
<i>pöte(s)</i>	<i>potēste(s) *potete(s)</i>
<i>*pöte(t)</i>	<i>pössun(t) *pöten(t)</i>

The present subjunctive must have had corresponding forms.

(2) *Volimus* is found in the sixth century (*Lat. Spr.* 478), *volemus* in the seventh (*Pr. Pers. Pl.* 21); *voles* is found in the *Gl. Reich.* *Volestis*, framed on the pattern of *potestis*, is twice used by Fredegarius (*Pr. Pers. Pl.* 21). The present indicative forms must have been something like this:—

<i>*volēo</i>	<i>volēmu(s) volēmu(s)</i>
<i>volē(s)</i>	<i>volēste(s) *volēte(s)</i>
<i>*volē(t)</i>	<i>*volēn(t)</i>

The present subjunctive must have been similarly inflected.

404. Beside *facere* there doubtless existed **fare* (*Facere* 48), strongly influenced by *dare* and *stare*. *Dare* and *facere* were associated in old formulas: *Lexique* 53. Furthermore, a suggestion of shortening existed in the monosyllabic imperative

fac (also *fa*: Zs. XXV, 735), which must have led to **fate* beside *facite*. The present indicative certainly had several sets of forms, one series being on the pattern of the first conjugation, but the present subjunctive retained its old inflection (see *Facere* 72, 121; Zs. XVIII, 434): —

<i>facio</i>	* <i>fao</i>	* <i>fo</i>	<i>facimu(s)</i>	* <i>fáimus</i>	* <i>famu(s)</i>
<i>face(s)</i>	* <i>fais</i>	* <i>fas</i>	<i>facite(s)</i>	* <i>fáitis</i>	* <i>fate(s)</i>
<i>face(t)</i>	* <i>fait</i>	* <i>fat</i>	<i>faciun(t)</i>	* <i>faunt</i>	* <i>fant</i>

There was also a rare infinitive *facire*, which occurs several times in the sixth and seventh centuries: *Facere* 13.

405. *Vadere* supplied its missing past tenses from *ire* and other verbs. These other substitutes, whose origin constitutes one of the most discussed problems in Romance philology, resulted — to cite only the principal types — in the verbs **allare* or *alare* (used in northern Gaul), **annare* (used in southern Gaul), **andare* (used in Spain and Italy). It is now generally thought that **allare* and **annare* developed in some peculiar way (perhaps through distortion in military commands) from *ambulare*, which is very common in late Latin in the sense of ‘march’ or ‘walk.’ **Andare* is commonly traced to **ambitare*, coming either from *ambitus* or, more probably, from *ambulare* with a change of suffix. C. C. Rice, in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* XIX, 217, argues that the three verbs sprang from Latin *annare* (= *adnare*) and its derivatives **annulare*, **annitare*. For a bibliography of the subject, see Körting. Cf. also A. Horning in Zs. XXIX, 542; H. Schuchardt in Zs. XXX, 83; *Lexique* 56–78. Both *ambulare* and *alare* occur in the *Gl. Reich*. *Amnavit* is found on a sixth century African vase: see F. Novati in *Studi Medievali* I, 616–617.

Ire and the other substitutes were introduced also into the

present. The present indicative, moreover, was influenced by *facere fare*: —

<i>vado</i>	* <i>vao</i>	* <i>vo</i>	<i>vádimu(s)</i>	<i>imu(s)</i> etc.
<i>vade(s)</i>	* <i>vais</i>	* <i>vās</i>	<i>vádite(s)</i>	<i>ite(s)</i> etc.
<i>vade(t)</i>	* <i>vait</i>	* <i>vat</i>	<i>vadun(t)</i>	* <i>vaunt</i> * <i>vant</i>

406. Verbs in *-io* tended to pass into the fourth conjugation (see, however, § 416): **capīre*, beside **capēre*; *cupīre*, Lucretius (*Lat. Spr.* 477), Densusianu 148, Bon. 426; *fodīri*, Cato; *fugīre*, St. Augustine (*Lat. Spr.* 477), common in the Vulgate (R. 285), Sepulcri 229, Bon. 427, Haag 60, *Gl. Reich.*; *morīri*, Plautus, and **morīre*.

Some others went over, at least locally: **fallīre*; *gemire*, Pirson 148; *occurire*, Pirson 148; **offerīre*, **sofferīre*, by the analogy of *aperīre* (*sufferit*, R. 286; cf. *deferet*, *offeret*, Bechtel 90; *offeret*, first half of the 7th century, Carnoy 112); **sequīre*, beside **sēquēre*.

Dīcēre, probably in the Vulgar Latin period (cf. *Lexique* 62), developed a form **dīre*, doubtless suggested by *dīc* (cf. *fac* and **fare*, § 404) and helped by the analogy of *audīre*.

d. FOURTH CONJUGATION.

407. The fourth conjugation usually held its own, and gained some verbs from the others.

For new formations, — such as **abbellīre*, *ignīre*, — see § 34. Germanic verbs in *-jan* regularly went into the fourth conjugation in Latin (Kluge 500): *furbjan* > It. *forbire*; *marrjan* > Fr. *marrir*; *þarrjan* > Fr. *tarir*; *warnjan* > It. *guarnire*. Cf. § 36.

For the intrusion of the inchoative *-sc-* into this conjugation, see § 415.

2. FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN INFLECTION.

408. Of the personal forms of the verb there remained in general use in Romance only the following tenses of the active voice, the entire passive inflection having been discarded: the

indicative present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and in some regions the future perfect; the subjunctive present, pluperfect, and in some regions the perfect; the imperative present. For instance: *amo, amabam, amavi, amaram, (amaro); amem, amassem, (amarim); ama*. See Syntax.

Of the impersonal forms of the verb there remained: the present active infinitive, the present participle, the perfect participle, the gerund (especially the ablative case), and probably in some standing phrases the gerundive. For instance: *amare, amans, amatus, amando, (amandus?)*. The supine fell into disuse from the first century on. See Syntax.

409. The entire passive inflection came to be replaced, towards the end of the Vulgar Latin period, partly by active and reflexive constructions but mainly by a compound of the perfect participle with *ēsse* (in northern Italy *fīēri*): *littera scribitur* > *littera scripta est* (or *fit*).

Deponent verbs became active: *mentire, operare*, etc., R. 298; cf. R. 297–302, 388–389. Conversely, some writers substituted the deponent for the active inflection of a few verbs: Petronius, *rideri*, etc., R. 304; cf. R. 302–304.

Cf. §§ 112–114.

410. The Latin perfect was kept in its preterit sense. In its perfect sense it was replaced, in the Vulgar Latin period, by a compound of *habēre* and the perfect participle—in the case of neuter verbs, *ēsse* and the perfect participle: *fēci* > *habeo factum; reverti* > *reversus sum*, R. 289. Similar compounds replaced the pluperfect and the future perfect. See §§ 121–124.

The old pluperfect indicative (*amāram, audīram*) was kept, as a preterit or a conditional, in various regions: see § 124. In the subjunctive the pluperfect was used instead of the

imperfect, which disappeared everywhere but in Sardinia (*fa-cheret*, etc.): *amārem* > *amāssem*, *audīrem* > *audīssem*; cf. § 118.

The old future perfect — *amā(vě)ro* — fused with the perfect subjunctive — *amā(vě)rim* — and apparently remained more or less in use, as a future indicative or subjunctive, in all regions except Gaul and Rætia. It is best preserved in Spanish and Portuguese, but is found also in Old Rumanian and Macedonian. There are traces of it in Old Italian, sometimes confused with the pluperfect indicative and later sometimes with the infinitive (*ápriro*, *póteri*, *crédere*, etc.): see C. De Lollis in *Bausteine* 1; V. Crescini in *Zs.* XXIX, 619.

411. The old future, with the exception of *ěro*, was crowded out by the present and by new formations, especially by the infinitive combined with the present indicative of *habēre* (*amābo* > *amar' habeo*): see §§ 125–129. In this compound all the various forms of the present indicative of *habēre* were used (see §§ 273, 401): **amar'* *-ábeo*, *-áyo*, *-áo*, *-ó*; **amar'* *-ábe(s)*, *-ás*; **amar'* *-ábe(t)*, *-át*; **amar'* *áben(t)*, *-áunt*, *-ánt*. In the first and second persons plural, *habēmus* and *habētis* eventually, as they came to be regarded as mere endings, were reduced to *-emu(s)*, *-ete(s)*, to correspond to the dissyllabic or monosyllabic *-áyo*, *-ábe(s)*, *-ábe(t)*, *-áben(t)* and *-ó*, *-ás*, *-át*, *-ánt*: **amar'* *-ému(s)*, **amar'* *-ete(s)*.

On the model of this new future, an imperfect of the future, or conditional, came to be made, in late Vulgar Latin and Romance, from the infinitive combined with the imperfect or the perfect of *habēre* (see § 130): **amar'* *-abe(b)a(m)* or **amar'* *-abui*. In these formations the unaccented (*h*)*ab*-disappeared, as in the first and second persons plural of the future: **amar'* *-é(b)a*, **amar'* *-ísti*, etc.; but **amar'* *ábui*, etc. In Italian we find, beside *-ía* from *habēbam* and *-ábbi* *-ébbi* from *habŭi*, a form in *-éi* (*ameréi*), which has prevailed in the

modern language, while in Old Italian the *ei* was sometimes detached and used as a preterit of *avere*: it is probably due to the analogy of the first person singular of the weak preterit (*credēi*, hence *credertēi*), cf. § 426.

412. The imperative disappeared, except the present, second person singular and plural: *āmā*, *amāte*; *tēnē*, *tenēte*; *crēdē*, *crēdite*; *audī*, *audite*. The first and third persons were supplied from the present subjunctive. In some verbs the present subjunctive was used instead of all imperative forms. See § 115.

Instead of the plural form, the second person plural of the present indicative came to be used: *adferte* > *adferitis*, R. 294. For the monosyllabic *dic*, *duc*, *fac*, writers sometimes employed *dice*, *duce*, *face*: R. 294.

3. INCHOATIVE VERBS.

413. The Latin inchoative ending *-sco* was preceded by *ā-*, *ē-*, *ī-*, or *ō-*. The types *-āsco* and *-ōsco* were sparingly represented and were not extended in late and popular Latin; they have bequeathed but few verbs — such as Pr. *irāissē* < *irāscēre*, *conōissē* < *co(g)nōscēre* — to the Romance languages. The types *-ēsco* and *-īsco* — as *parēsco*, *dormīsco* — were extended in the third century and later, and lost their inchoative sense.

414. There is some evidence of a confusion of *-ēsco* and *-īsco* in Latin. Virgilius Grammaticus (Sepulcri 194) mentions double forms of inchoative verbs, such as *calesco calisco*, etc. *Clarisco*, *erubisco*, etc., are common in Gregory the Great: Sepulcri 193. Cf. *criscere*, etc., in *Vok.* I, 359 ff.

In Veglia, the Abruzzi, Sardinia, and a part of Lorraine neither of these two endings left any trace. Only *-ēsco* survived in the Tyrol, the Grisons, French Switzerland, Savoy, Dauphiné, Lyons, the Landes, Béarn, and Spain — Sp. *parecer*,

florecer; *-esco* was preferred also in Rumanian. Elsewhere, although there are traces of *-esco*, *-isco* prevailed — Fr. *il fleurit*, It. *fiorisce*. For Pr. *despereissir*, etc., see E. Herzog in *Bausteine* 481.

415. The ending *-isco* eventually entered into the formation of the present stem of fourth conjugation verbs. There is no direct evidence of this in Latin, nor are there any traces of it in Spanish, Portuguese, Sardinian, or southern Italian; but in the earliest texts of France, northern and central Italy, Rætia, and Rumania we find a type

<i>*finisco</i>	<i>finimu(s)</i>
<i>*finisce(s)</i>	<i>finite(s)</i>
<i>*finisce(t)</i>	<i>*finiscun(t)</i>

The *-sc-* then generally disappeared from the infinitive — It. *fiorire*. Later, in some regions, the *-sc-* was carried throughout the present indicative (Fr. *finissons*, *finissez*); it also penetrated the present subjunctive (Fr. *finisse*), and in some districts eventually the present participle and the imperfect indicative (Fr. *finissant*, *finissais*).

See *Archiv* I, 465; *Zs.* XXIV, 81; *Rom.* XXX, 291-294; *Lat. Spr.* 478.

4. PRESENT STEMS.

416. Many verbs in *-io* dropped the *i* whenever it was followed by another vowel. In the present participle this was a regular phonetic development (see § 225): *audientem* > **audente*, *facientem* > **facente*, *partientem* > **partente*, *sentientem* > **sentente*. Hence forms without the *i* were introduced more or less into the indicative and subjunctive: *audio* **audio*, **dormo*, *partiunt* **partunt*, *sēntiam* **sēntam*, etc.

By the analogy of these, the *ē* was occasionally lost in the second conjugation: *video* **vīdo*. On the other hand, by the

analogy of *capunt, faciunt*, etc., the second conjugation admitted such forms as **habeunt, *videunt*, etc., beside the regular *habent, vident*, etc.

417. The verbs *struere, trahere, vehere* developed infinitive forms **strugere, trágere, végere* (*tragere* and *vegere* are used by Fredegarius, Haag 34) and a whole present and imperfect inflection with *-g-*, as **trago, *tragam, *tragēbam*. The guttural was derived from the perfect indicative and the perfect participle — *struxi structus, traxi tractus, vexi vectus* — on the analogy of *ago actus, figo fixi, lego lectus, rego rexi rectus, tego tectus*, and also *finco finxi fictus, tango tactus*, and probably *cingo cinxi cinctus, jungo junxi junctus, pango panxi panctus, plango planxi planctus, ungo unxi unctus*, etc.

There may have been also **strúcere, *trácere, *vécere*, based on the analogy of *dico dixi dictus, duco duxi ductus*.

Cf. *Substrate* VI, 131.

418. The verbs *dare, debere, dicere, facere, habere, posse, stare, vadere, velle* underwent considerable changes in the present: see §§ 273, 397, 401, 403–406, 412, 416.

419. *Esse* was made into **ěssere*, to bring it into conformity with the usual third conjugation type. Considerable alterations were made in the present indicative and subjunctive. For the use of *fieri* for *esse*, see § 409. The Spanish use of *sedere* for *esse* is probably later than our period.

(1) The present indicative shows some signs of a tendency to normalize its erratic inflection by making all the forms begin with *s*. The old *esum* cited by Varro (*Pr. Pers. Pl.* 128) went out of use. Italian *sei* and Rætian *šěš* point to a **šěs* beside *ěs*; Italian *siete* and Rætian *siede*, etc., indicate a **šētis* for *ětis*, while there is some evidence of an alternative **sūtis* on the model of *sūmus*; Old Italian *se* for *è*, Provençal *ses* for

es, usually understood as reflexive forms, may go back to **sēt* and **sēst* for *ēst*. In the first person plural *sūmus* became *sūmus* and *sīmus* (see § 220); *sūmus*, the usual Classic form, was preferred in Spain, Portugal, northern Gaul, and the Tyrol (Sp. *somos*, Old Fr. *sons*, etc.); *sīmus*, which was used, according to Suetonius, by Augustus, and by various purists of the Augustan age (Stolz 58), prevailed in southern Gaul, Italy, Dalmatia, and Dacia (Pr. *sem*, Old It. *semo*, etc.): cf. *Lat. Spr.* 479; *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 130; *Rom.* XXI, 347. Provençal *esmes* < **ēsmus* seems to be a new formation on the analogy of *ēstis*; Mohl, *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 135, would derive it from old *esīmus*, which existed with *esum*. The present indicative inflection was doubtless something like this:—

<i>som</i>	<i>somu(s)</i>	<i>semu(s)</i>	* <i>esmu(s)</i>
<i>es</i> * <i>ses</i>	<i>ēste(s)</i>	* <i>sēte(s)</i>	* <i>sōte(s)</i> ?
<i>est</i> * <i>sēt</i> ? * <i>sēst</i> ?	<i>sont</i>		

(2) In the present subjunctive the analogy of other third conjugation verbs tended to introduce the characteristic vowel *a*. It is likely, too, that from early times there was a reciprocal influence of *fiam*, etc., and the Old Latin optative *siem*, etc. (cf. *Lexique* 51): *fiet* is common for *fit*, Pirson 150; *fiam* replaces *sim* in northern Italy and Dacia. Hence comes an alternative inflection **sīam*, etc., which ultimately prevailed:—

<i>sem</i> * <i>sēa</i>	<i>sīmu(s)</i>	<i>siāmu(s)</i>
<i>sīs</i> * <i>sēa(s)</i>	<i>sīte(s)</i>	* <i>siāte(s)</i>
<i>sēt</i> <i>sēa(t)</i>	<i>sēnt</i>	* <i>sēan(t)</i>

For *sīat*, see *sead* in *Vok.* II, 42. *Sīamus*, according to *Lat. Spr.* 478, occurs in Italian documents of the eighth century.

5. IMPERFECT.

N. B.—For the loss of the imperfect subjunctive, see § 118.

420. The endings were *—ābam*, *—ēbam*, *—īēbam*, *—ībam*. In the third conjugation *—īēbam* regularly developed into *—ēbam*,

just as *-ientem* > *-entem* (see §§ 225, 416): *faciēbam* > **facēbam*. In the fourth conjugation *-iēbam* and *-ībam* existed side by side from early times (Neue II, 445), *-ībam* — as in *munībam* — being common in early Latin and recurring at later periods (Lindsay 491); *-ībam*, which stressed the characteristic vowel of the fourth conjugation, prevailed in popular speech, and *-iēbam* disappeared: *vestibat*, etc., Dubois 277-278.

421. *Habēbam*, pronounced *aβēβa* (cf. § 318), developed another form, **aβēa*, probably through dissimilation. Hence came an alternative ending *-ēa* for *-ēβa*, which in Romance was widely extended, affecting all the conjugations but the first: It. *vedēa*, *credēa*, *sentīa*. It is common to nearly all the Romance territory except Rumania: *Lat. Spr.* 479.

6. PERFECT.

422. We must distinguish two types, the weak and the strong: the weak comprises the *v*- perfects in which the *v* is added to a verb-stem (*-āvi*, *-ēvi*, *-īvi*), the strong includes all others. Verbs of the first and fourth conjugations generally had weak perfects, those of the second and third had mostly strong. Only six verbs — all of the second conjugation and most of them rare — regularly had a perfect in *-ēvi*: *deleo*, *fleo*, *neo*, *-oleo*, *-pleo*, *vico*; *silevit* for *siluit* occurs also, R. 287.

All first and fourth conjugation verbs with strong perfects probably developed a weak one in Vulgar Latin: *præstiti* > *præstavi*, R. 289; *salui* > *salivi*. For further encroachment of the weak type on the strong, see § 426.

a. WEAK PERFECTS.

423. A tendency to keep the stress on the characteristic vowel, and also a general inclination to omit *v* between two *i*'s (see § 324), led early, in the fourth conjugation, to a reduction

of *-īvīstī* to *-īstī* and *-īvīstis* to *-īstis*, which brought about, still early, the further reduction of *-īvī* to *-īī* and **-īī*, *-īvīt* to *-īīt* and **-īīt*, *-īvērunt* to *-ierunt*, and, later, the reduction of *-īvīmus* to *-īmus* and probably **-īmmus* (the lengthening of the *m* being due to compensation and also, perhaps, to a desire to distinguish the perfect from the present). For *-īīt*, as in *lenīīt*, see Servius *ad Aen.* I, 451; for *-ierunt*, see Neue III, 452-454; for *-īmus*, as in *repetīmus*, etc., see Neue III, 449.

Then a contraction of the two vowels gave, in the first and third persons singular and the third person plural, *-ī*, *-īt*, **-īrunt*: *audī*, Neue III, 434 (cf. S. 241: 65-121 A.D.); *petīt*, etc., Neue III, 446-448; "*cupīt* pro *cupīvit*," Priscian XII, 17 (Keil II, 587); *perīt*, *petīt*, *redīt*, Bayard 60; *perīt*, etc., Bon. 440.

A contraction without the fall of *v*, in the third person singular, gave rise, locally, to an alternative form, **-īut*: It. *servío*, etc.

424. The loss of *v*, carried into the first conjugation, gave rise early to a reduction of *-āvīstī*, *-āvīstis*, *-āvērunt* to *-āstī*, *-āstis*, *-ārunt*. Much later *-āvī* > *-āī*, *-āvīt* > *āīt* and *-āt*, *-āvīmus* > *-āmus* and probably **-āmmus*: *calcai* (Probus), *edificai*, *probai* (Probus), *Vok.* II, 476; *σενναι*, Densusianu I, 152; — *laborait*, *C. I. L.* X, 216; *speclarait*, *Vok.* II, 476; *dedicait*, *Lexique* 46; "*fumāt* pro *fumavit*," Priscian XII, 17 (Keil II, 587); *denumerat*, *judicat*, Fredegarius (Haag 55); — *cēlebramus*, *memoramus*, *vocitamus*, Gregory of Tours (Bon. 440); *speramus*, Fredegarius (Haag 55). The third person singular in *-ait* is found in Old Sardinian: *Lat. Spr.* 479.

A contraction without the fall of *v* gave rise, in the third person singular, to *-aut*; and, in the first person plural, probably to **-aumus*: *triumphaut* in Pompeii, Densusianu I, 152. This *-aut* prevailed in Romance: It. *amò* and *amáo*, etc. The

*-*aumus* is preserved in some Old French dialects near Douai: *Rom.* XXX, 607.

425. The forms in the first and fourth conjugations, therefore, were:—

-āvi	-āi			-īvi	*-īi	-ii	-i
-āsti				-īsti			
-āve(t)	-āut	-āit	-āt	-īve(t)	*-īut	*-īit	-iit -īt
-āvīmu(s)	-āmu(s)	*-āmmu(s)	*-āumus	-īvīmu(s)	-īmu(s)	*-īmmu(s)	
-āste(s)				-īste(s)			
-ārun(t)				*-īrun(t)			

With the exception of -*ivi* in Old Italian, the forms with *v* were not preserved in Romance.

Verbs in -*ēvī* doubtless had a similar inflection: **delēi*, *delēstī*, etc. Some other second conjugation verbs apparently adopted this perfect: *silevit*, R. 287.

426. Compounds of *dare* had a perfect in -*didī* (*crēdidī*, *perdidī*, *vēndidī*, etc.), which in Vulgar Latin became -*dēdī* (see § 139): *perdedit*, etc., Audollent 544. This -*dēdī* was extended to many other verbs in -*d*: *prandidi*, Keil IV, 184; *descendidi*, *respondidi*, *Lat. Spr.* 479, 480; *ascendiderat*, *descendidi*, *incendederit*, *odedere*, *pandiderunt*, *prendiderunt*, *videderunt* (cf. *edediderit* with an extra -*de*-), R. 288.

Through the analogy of -*āi*, *-*ēi*, *-*īi*, helped by dissimilation, this -*dēdī* became *-*dēi*. Hence arose eventually an inflection *-*dēi*, *-*dēsti*, *-*dēt*, *-*dēm(m)u(s)*, *-*dēste(s)*, -*dērun(t)*, from which there came a set of endings *-*ei*, *-*esti*, etc., corresponding to the -*ai* -*asti*, etc., and the -*ii*, -*isti*, etc., of the first and fourth conjugations: so *caderunt*, *Gl. Reich*. In some of the Romance languages these endings were carried into other verbs of the third and even the second conjugation (It. *battēi*, Pr. *cazēt*); in Provençal they invaded the first also (*amēi*). In Dacia, on the other hand, they apparently did

not develop at all. In Italy, under the influence of *stetti* < **stētui*, *dare* had (beside *diēdi* < *dēdi*) a perfect *detti*, whence arose an inflection -*detti*, etc., and a set of endings -*etti*, etc., beside -*dei* and -*ei*.

Through these endings the weak type encroached somewhat on the strong. In Italy all strong verbs except *esse* introduced weak endings in the second person singular and the first and second persons plural: It. *presi*, *prendesti*, etc.; cf. *plaudisti* for *plausisti*, R. 286, also *vincisti*, *Gl. Reich*. In Rumania, where there was no -*dei*, the -*ui* and -*si* types were extended.

A few weak verbs adopted strong inflections: *quæsīvi* > **quæsi*, *sapīvi* > *sapui*.

b. STRONG PERFECTS.

427. There are three types — those that add *u* to the root, those that add *s*, and those that have nothing between the root and the personal endings: *plac-u-i*, *dīc-s-i* = *dīxi*, *bīb-i*. In the first class the *u* lost its syllabic value and became *w* (cf. § 326): *placwī*, etc.

428. The -*ui* type, according to Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* II, 357, included from the start not only perfects of the *placui* sort, but also all perfects in -*vi* not made from the verb-stem (cf. § 422), — such as *cognōvi*, *crēvi*, *mōvi*, *pāvi*, — this ending being pronounced *wui*, but written *vi* to avoid the doubling of the *v*. At any rate, the development of the *vi* indicates that it was sounded *wui*, *wwi*, or *βwi* in Vulgar Latin: cf. It. *conobbi*, *crebbi*, etc.; Pr. *moc*, etc.

This perfect disappeared from the first and fourth conjugations: *crepui* > **crepavi*, *necui* > *necavi*, etc.; *aperui* > **aperii* **apersi*, *salui* > *salivi* *salii* **salsi*, etc. In the second and third conjugations it maintained itself very well: *cognovi*, *crevi*,

gemui(?), *messui*(?), *molui*, *movi*, *pavi*, *tenui*, *texui*. It lost *posui* (>*posi*), *silui* (>*silevi*), and possibly a few others. On the other hand it received many additions: *bībi* > **bībui*; *cēcīdi* > **cadui* **cadedi*; *cēpi* > *capui*, Haag 56, *Lat. Spr.* 479 (so **recīpui*); *expavi* > *expabui*, *Lat. Spr.* 479; *lēgi* > **lēgui* **lēxi*; *natus sum* > **nacui*; *peperci* > *parcui*, R. 288; *sapivi* > *sapui*; *sēdi* > **sēdui*; *stēti* > also **stētui*; *sustūli* > **tolui* **tolsi*; *texi* > *texui*, *Lat. Spr.* 479; *vēni* > also **vēnui*; *vīci* > also **vīncui* **vīnsi*; *vīdi* > also **vīdui* **vīdui*; *vīxi* > also **vīscui*; etc. Cf. A. Zimmermann in *Archiv* XIII, 130; *Zs.* XXVIII, 97.

429. Of the *-si* class, — which comprised perfects in *-si*, *-ssi*, and *-xi*, — some thirty-five were preserved: *arsi*, *cinxi*, *clausi*, *coxi*, *divisi*, *dixi*, *duxi*, *excussi*, *finxi*, *fixi*, *frixi*, *junxi*, *luxi*, *mansi*, *mīsi* (also **mīssi*, perhaps on the model of *mīssus*, cf. § 163), *mulsi*, *pinxi*, *planxi*, *pressi*, *rasi*, *rex**i*, *risi*, *rosi*, *scripsi*, *sparsi*, *-stinxi*, *strinxi*, *struxi*, *tersi*, *tinxi*, *torsi*, *traxi*, *unxi*, *vixi*. *Sensi*, however, became **sēntii*.

In Vulgar Latin there were perhaps some thirty or more new formations: *abscō(n)si*, Keil VII, 94; **accē(n)si*; **apērsi*; **attīnxi*; **copērsi*; **cūrsi*; **defe(n)si*; **ērsi* from *ērigo*; **franxi*; **fūsi*; **impīnxi*; **lēxi*; **mōrsi*; **occīsi*; **offērsi*; **pē(n)si*; *pērsi*, *Lat. Spr.* 480; *pōsi*, R. 288; **prē(n)-si*; **pūnxi*; **quāsi*; **redēmpsī*; **respō(n)si*; **rōsi*; **salsi*; **sōlsi*; **sūrsi*; **taxi*; **tanxi*; **tē(n)si*; **tōlsi*; **vīnsi*; **vōlsi*. Some of these — **defensi*, **fusi*, **morsi*, **occisi*, **pensi*, **prensi*, **responsi*, **rosi*, **tensi* — assumed the *s*- perfect through having an *s* in the perfect participle.

Cf. *Einf.* § 165.

430. Among the *-i* perfects, the reduplicative formations were discarded in Vulgar Latin, with the exception of *dēdi* and *stēti* (also **stētui*), whose reduplicative character was no longer

apparent; compounds of *dare* usually formed their perfect like the simple verb (cf. § 426; but *circumdavit* in *Gl. Reich.*), while compounds of *stare* tended to follow the regular first conjugation model (*præstīti* > *præstavi*, R. 289). *Cēcīdi* became **cadui* or **cadedi*; *fefelli* > **falii*; *peperci* > *parcui*, R. 288. The other reduplicative perfects either disappeared or passed into the *-si* class: *cucurri* > **cūrsi*; *momordi* > **mōrsi*; *pependi* > **pē(n)si*; *pupūgi* > **pūnxi*; *tetendi* > **tē(n)si*; *tetēgi* > **taxi* **tanxi*.

The other *-i* perfects were greatly reduced in number in Vulgar Latin. Some simply disappeared, some became weak, some went over to the *-ui* or the *-si* type: *ēgi*, *vērti*; *fūgi* > **fugii*; *bībi* > **bībui*, *cēpi* > *capui*, *lēgi* > **lēgui*, *sēdi* > **sēdui*; *accendi* > **accē(n)si*, *defendi* > **defē(n)si*, *frēgi* > **franxi*, *fūdi* > **fūsi*, *lēgi* > **lēxi*, *prendi* > **prē(n)si*, *solvi* > **sōlsi*, *vīci* > **vīnsi*, *volvi* > **vōlsi*. There were no additions. Two of the old perfects maintained themselves intact, and two more were kept beside new formations: *fēcī*, *fui*; *vēni* **vēnui*, *vīdi* **vīdui*.

431. In *fui* the *u* was originally long, but it was shortened in Classic Latin; Vulgar Latin seems to show both *ū* and *ū̄*. In an effort to keep the accent on the same syllable throughout (cf. §§ 423-424), *fuīsti* > **fusti*, *fuīstis* > **fustis*; then *fuīmus* generally became **fum(m)us*, *fuit* was often shortened to **fut*, and *fuērunt* became **furunt*. There may have been also, through dissimilation, a form **fōrunt*.

The prevailing inflection, with some variations, was probably something like this: —

<i>fuī</i>	<i>foi</i>	* <i>fom(m)u(s)</i>
* <i>fōsti</i>		* <i>fōste(s)</i>
<i>fōe(t)</i>	<i>fue(t)</i>	* <i>fot</i> * <i>fut</i> * <i>fōrun(t)</i> * <i>fūrun(t)</i> * <i>fōrun(t)?</i> * <i>fōerun(t)?</i>

7. PLUPERFECT AND FUTURE PERFECT.

432. When preserved at all, these tenses followed the old types: *plácuěram* (cf. § 137), *placuíssem*, *plácuěro*; *dixěram*, *dixíssem*, *dixěro*; *fěcěram*, *fecíssem*, *fěcěro*. In formations from weak perfects only the contracted forms were used: *amāram*, *amāssem*, *amāro*; *delěram*, *delēssem*, *delěro*; *audī(e)ram*, *audīssem*, *audī(e)ro*; cf. *alaret*, *ortaret* in *Gl. Reich*. Bayard 60–61 notes that St. Cyprien employed only the shortened forms — *petisset*, etc. — before *ss*.

433. In some regions a tendency to keep the accent on the same syllable throughout the pluperfect subjunctive led to a change of *–assēmus*, *–assētis*, etc., to **–ássimus*, **–ássitis*, etc.: It. *amássimo amáste*, Sp. *hablásemos habláseis*; but Pr. *amessém amessétz*, Fr. *aimassiéms aimassiéz*.

8. PERFECT PARTICIPLE.

434. Verbs which had no perfect participle were obliged to form one in order to make their passive and their perfect tenses: *fěrio*, **ferítus*.

435. In the first conjugation *–ātus* was preserved and was extended to all verbs: *frictus* > *fricatus*; *nectus* > *necatus*; *secus* > *secatus*; so the new *alatus*, *Gl. Reich*. The ending *–ītus*, in the first conjugation, generally fell into disuse: *crepītus* > **crepatus*; *domītus* > *domatus*, R. 295; *plicītus* > *plicatus*; *sonītus* > **sonatus*; *tonītus* > **tonatus*; *vetītus* > *vetatus*, R. 296. Nevertheless there were some new formations in *–ītus*: **lěvītus*, *prěvītus*, *rěgītus*, *věcītus*; cf. *Lat. Spr.* 480.

In the third conjugation *–ātus* disappeared: *oblatus* > *offertus* (*Gl. Reich.*), *sublatus* > **suffertus*, by the analogy of *apertus*, *copertus*; *sublatus* (from *tollo*) > *töllītus* (*Gl. Reich.*).

436. In the fourth conjugation *-ītus* was preserved and was extended to nearly all verbs: *saltus* > **salītus*; *sensus* > **sentītus*; *sepultus* > *sepelītus*, old and found in all periods, Pirson 152, *Gl. Reich*. *Apertus* and *copertus*, however, were kept; and *ventus* generally became **venūtus*.

In the third conjugation *quāsītus* > **quæstus*.

437. In the second conjugation the rare *-ētus* disappeared as a participial ending: *complētus*, etc., were kept only as adjectives.

438. The ending *-ūtus*, belonging to verbs in *-uere* and *-vere* (*argutus*, *consutus*, *minutus*, *secutus*, *solutus*, *statutus*, *tributus*, *volutus*), offered a convenient accented form, corresponding to *-ātus* and *-ītus*. It was extended to nearly all the verbs that had an *-ui* perfect: **bibutus*, **habutus*, **parutus*, **tenutus*, **venutus*, **vidutus*, etc.; but *status*. It did not always, however, entirely displace the old perfect participle: *natus* was kept beside **nascūtus*.

Eventually *-ūtus* was carried further, — as **credutus*, **perdutus*, **vendutus*, — and in Sicily encroached largely on *-ītus*.

On the other hand, **mōvītus* and **mōssus* were formed beside **movutus*, **sōlvītus* (or **sōltus*) beside *solutus*, **vōlvītus* (or **vōltus*) beside *volutus*.

439. The ending *-ītus* tended to disappear (cf. § 435): *absconditus* > *absco(n)sus*; *bibitus* > **bibutus*; *creditus* > **credutus*; *fugitus* > **fugītus*; *molitus* > **molutus*; *paritus* > **parutus* **parsus*; *perditus* > **perdutus* **persus*; *submonitus* > **submo(n)sus*; *venditus* > **vendutus*. A few of these participles, however, remained, and there were some new formations in *-ītus*: *gēmītus*?, *pōs(i)tus*, *sōlītus*; **lēvītus*, **mōvītus*, *prōvītus*, *rōgītus*, **sōlvītus* (or **sōltus*), *tōllītus*, *vōcītus*, **vōlvītus* (or **vōltus*).

440. The ending *-tus* was kept for some twenty verbs, occasionally with a change of stem: *cinctus*; *dictus*; *ductus*; *extinctus*; *factus*; *fictus* *finctus*, R. 295; *fractus* **francus*; *frictus*; *lectus*; *mistus*; *pictus* **pinctus*; *punctus*; *rectus*; *scriptus*; *strictus* **strinctus*; *structus*; **surtus* for *surrectus*; *tactus*? **tancus*?; *tinctus*; *tortus*; *tractus*. There were a few new formations in *-tus*: *offertus*, **quæstus*, **suffertus*, **vîstus*; and perhaps **sôltus*, **vôltus* (cf. § 439).

About fifteen verbs probably replaced *-tus* by *-âtus*, *-îtus*, or *-ûtus*: *captus* **capîtus*; *cognôtus* > **conovûtus*?; *crêtus* > **crevûtus*?; *fartus* > **farcîtus* and *farsus*, Lat. Spr. 480; *frîctus* > *fricâtus*; *môtus* > **movûtus*? and **môssus*; *nectus* > *necâtus*; *pastus* > **pavûtus*?; *saltus* > **salîtus* and **salsus*; *sectus* > *secâtus*; *sepultus* > *sepelîtus*; *tentus* > **tenûtus*; *texus* > **texûtus*; *ventus* > **venûtus* and *venîtus*, Bechtel 91; *vîctus* > **vin-cûtus* and **vinctus*; *vîctus* > **vixûtus*.

441. The ending *-sus* was generally kept: *acce(n)sus*; *arsus*; *clausus*; *defe(n)sus*; *divîsus*; *excussus*; *fixus*; *fusus*; *ma(n)sus*; *mîssus*, also perhaps **mîsus* by the analogy of *mîsi*; *morsus*; *pe(n)sus*; *pre(n)sus*; *pressus*; *risus*; *rosus*; *sparsus*; *te(n)sus*; *tersus*; *to(n)sus*; *visus*, also probably **vîstus*. Several of these developed also a participle in *-ûtus*: **pendutus*, **vidutus*, etc. *Salsus*, 'salted,' maintained itself beside *salîtus*.

A few verbs replaced the old form by one in *-îtus* or *-ûtus*: *expansus* > **expandutus*; *falsus* > **fallîtus*; *fusus* > *fundutus*, Gl. Reich.; *gavîsus* > **gaudutus*; *messus* > *metîtus*, Dubois 282; *sensus* > **sentîtus*; *sessus* > **sedutus*.

On the other hand, there were some new formations in *-sus*: *absco(n)sus*, Keil VII, 94, Lat. Spr. 480, R. 295 (very common); *farsus*, Lat. Spr. 480; **mossus*; **parsus*; **persus*; **salsus*; **submo(n)sus*.

9. PERSONAL ENDINGS.

442. For the reduction of *-io* to *-o*, see §416.

443. Meyer-Lübke, *Grundriss* I², 670, assumes that in Italy *-ās* and *-ēs* became *-i*. The evidence, historically considered, does not support this view. Italian *lodi* and Rumanian *lauzi*, from *laudas*, are correctly explained by Tiktin 565–566 as analogical formations.

444. As unaccented *ē*, *ě*, and *ĩ* came to be pronounced alike (§243), great confusion ensued between *-ēs* and *-īs*, *-ēt* and *-īt*. This confusion is very frequent in the *Peregrinatio*: Bechtel 88–89, *colliget*, etc.

445. In southern and to some extent in northern Gaul the first person plural lost its final *s*, perhaps in the Vulgar Latin period: *vidēmus* > Pr. *vezém*. This is not a phonetic phenomenon, as *-s* did not fall in this region. It may be that *-s* was dropped because it was regarded as a characteristic of the second person, as *t* was of the third (cf. *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 73–80):—

<i>āmo</i>	* <i>amāmu</i>
<i>āmas</i>	<i>amātes</i>
<i>āmat</i>	<i>āmant</i>

446. According to Mohl, *Pr. Pers. Pl.*, forms like **cānomus*, due to Celtic influence, were used in northern Gaul instead of *canimus*, etc.; then the accent was shifted to the penult—**canómus*, whence came the French *-ons*. This theory has not found acceptance.

447. In strong perfects the first person plural, *-imus*,—through the analogy of *-istis* and *-isti*, and doubtless of weak perfects as well,—tended, perhaps after our period, to stress its penult: *fēcimus* > Pr. *fezém*. There are traces of this in inscriptions and elsewhere: S. 47, 53. The shift, however,

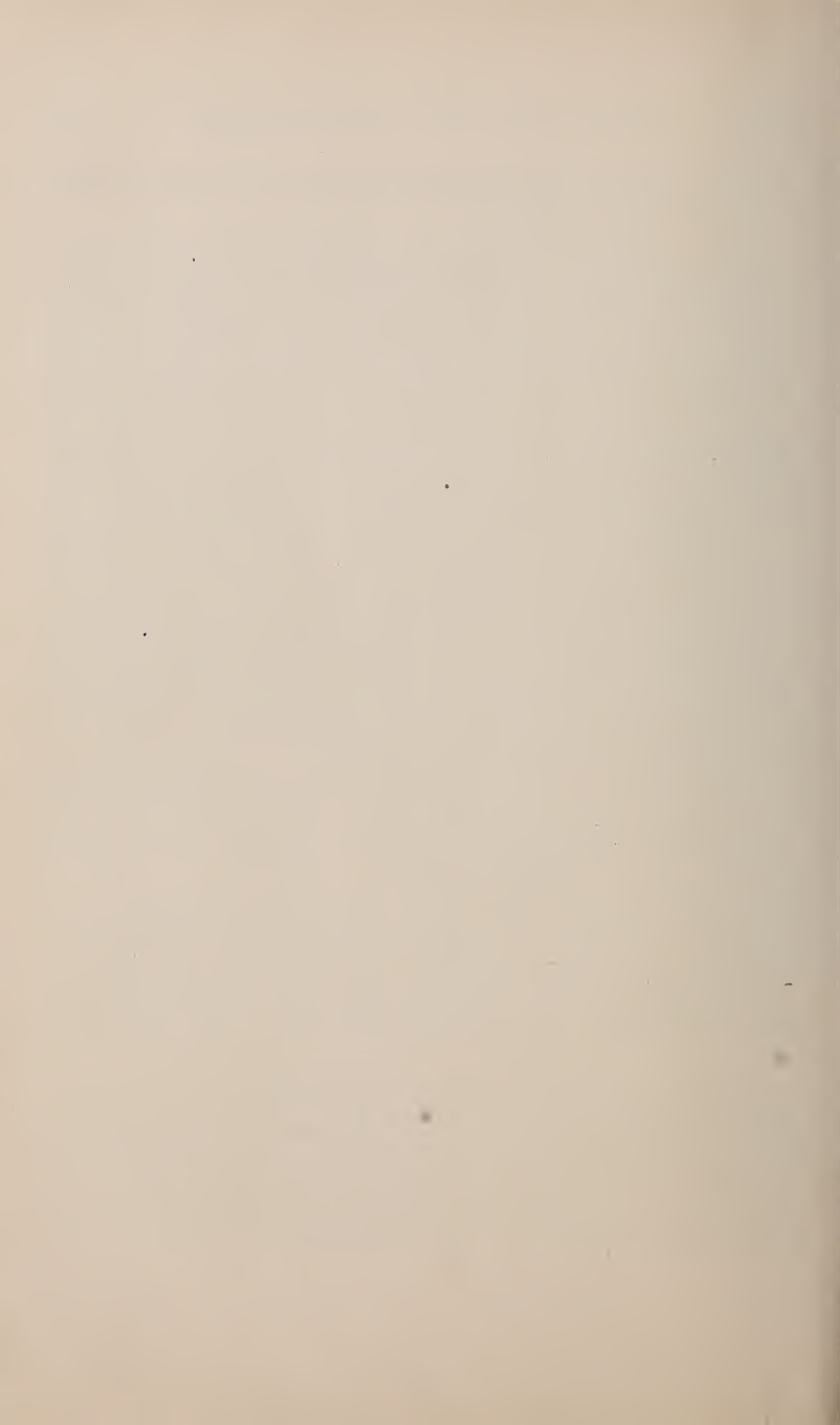
was not universal, as there are in Italian and French remains of the original accentuation.

448. In the present indicative and imperative, *-imus*, *-itis*, *-ite* generally became, in the sixth or seventh century, *-ēmu(s)*, *-ēte(s)*, *-ēte*, — the penult assuming the accent, to match *-āmu(s)*, *-āte(s)*, *-āte* and *-ēmu(s)*, *-ēte(s)*, *-ēte* and *-īmu(s)*, *īte(s)*, *īte* in the other conjugations. The shift was perhaps helped by the analogy of the future — *mittimus*, for instance, being attracted by *mittēmus*: *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 30, 64. Rumanian, however, kept the old accent (Tiktin 596): *úngem*, *úngeti*; *víndem*, *víndeti*; etc. There are some traces of its preservation in southeastern French dialects also. Furthermore, *facimus*, *facitis* and *dicimus*, *dicitis* kept their old forms in many regions.

449. For the reduction of *-iunt* to *-unt*, see § 416. Beside *-ent*, in the second conjugation, there was an ending **-eunt* (**habeunt*, etc.), — due to the analogy of *-iunt*, — which was particularly common in Italy: cf. § 416.

The endings *-ent* and *-unt* came to be very much confused (**crēdent*, **vīdunt*, etc.); their interchange is frequent in the *Peregrinatio*: Bechtel 88–90, *absolvent*, *accipient*, *exient*, *responduntur*, etc. According to Mohl, *Pr. Pers. Pl.* 112, the confusion goes back to early Italic. The Classic distinction was best kept in Gaul and northern Italy; in Spain and Portugal, Sardinia, and a part of southern Italy, *-ent* prevailed; in central and the rest of southern Italy, Rætia, Dalmatia, and Dacia, *-unt* was preferred.

450. In the perfect, the third person plural ending *-ēre* was discarded. The ending *-erunt*, in Classic Latin, sometimes had a short *e* (*ĕ* is common in the comic poets, Virgil wrote *tulĕrunt*, etc.); in Vulgar Latin this vowel was apparently always short: *dēbuerunt*, *dīxerunt*, *vīderunt*. Cf. § 137.



INDEX.

N. B.— Arabic numerals refer to Paragraphs. Words printed in Roman type belong to ancient, words in *italics* to modern languages.

a 194-5, 228, 229 (1), 231,
240, 243, 244
 accented 39, 194-5
 -arius 39
 ja- > je- 229 (1)
 unaccented 228, 229 (1),
 231, 240, 243, 244
-a 37
a 181
ab 14, 77, 92
 before j 222
 before s + cons. 230
ab 78
ab- 26
ab- > au- 236
ab ante 47, 48
abbellire 18, 34
abbio 273
abbreviare 25
abbreviatio 37
abeo = habeo 251
abias 224
abiat 224
abiete 224
-abilis 39
ab intus 47
abitat 251
Ablative 92-7, 383
 abl. absolute 97
 abl. = accus. 94-6
aboculare 16
ab olim 47
abs- 28
absconsus 439, 441

absida 356 (3)
absolvent 449
abyssus 149
ac- 24, 65
accedere(m) 309
accensus 441
Accent 134-58
 primary 135-52
 Greek words 143-50
 other foreign words
 151-2
 shift 136-8, 140
 ficatum 141
 nouns 367
 numerals 142
 recomposition 139
 verbs 423-4, 431,
 433, 447-8, 450
 vowels in hiatus
 136-8
 secondary 153-5
 unstressed words 156-8
Accented Vowels: *see*
 Vowels
 accipere 201
 acceptabilis 39
 accipient 449
 accubitorium 37
 -accus 37
Accusative, 82, 94-6, 98-9,
 373, 383
 acc. = abl. 94-6
 acc. + infin. 82
 acc. pl. in -us 244, 355 (1)

acer arbor 43
-aceus 37
acia 355 (2)
-acius 37
a contra 47
a(c)qua 164
Acqui 86
Acragas 330
ac si 83
ac sic 24, 47, 84
acua = aqua 223
-aculare 35
aculionis 367
ad 14, 78, 86, 90, 93, 96, 98
ad = at 282
ad- 23, 25
adaptus 23
adcap(i)tare 25
addedi 139
addormire 25
adferitis (*imper.*) 412
adgeniculari 25
ad horam 47
adimplere 30
Adjectives
 comparison 56, 377
 declension 374-9
 numerals 378-82
 unus (*article*) 57
adjutare 34
ad mane 47
adnao 397
adparescere 34
adpetere 32

- adpretiare 25
 adpropriare 25
 ad semel 47
 ad sero 47
 adsteti 139
 ad subito 47
 adtonitus 32
 ad tunc 47
 ad ubi 47
 aduc 250
 adulescentulus 37
 adunare 25
Adverbs 73-5
 æ 174, 178, 209-10, 228,
 243, 244
 accented 174, 178, 209-10
 unaccented 174, 178, 243,
 244
 -æ = -e 174, 244
 æcclesia 228
 ædis 366
 ægis 188
 æliens = eligens 259
 æques = e- 175
 æquus = e- 175, 210
 æteneris = itineris 201
 Æthiopia 188
 æum = ævum 324 (1)
 a foras 47
 a foris 47
 agennæ = -nd- 281
 agere = ajere 259
aggio 273
 aggravatio 37
 Agneti 359 (2)
 agnetus = -na- 194
 -ago 37
 Agragas 330
 Agrientum 259
 agurium 228
 agustas 228
 Augustus 228
 ahenum 250
 ai > æ > e 209
 ai 188
 Aiax 188, 222
aiglon 37 (-o)
 Aiiax 222
 aii 222
 -aio 39 (-arius)
 aios = ἄϊος 272
Aix 86
 ajutit = adjutet 272
 -al 37
 alacer 195 (1)
 alare 405, 435
 alauda 19
 alaudula 37
 alba spina 43
 alberca 19
 albeus 317
 albor = arbor 292
 -ale 37
 alecer 195 (1)
 Alesander 255
 alevanti = eleph- 321
 Alexander 38, 255
alguem 71
alguien 71
 -alia 37
 alicer 195 (1)
 alicunus 71
 alid = aliud 71
 alio(r)sum 291
 alipes = ad- 281 (1)
 aliquanti 71
 aliqui 71
 aliquis 13, 71
 aliquot 71
 -alis 39
 alium 224
 alius 71
 allare 405, 435
 allegorizare 19
 alleviare 34
 allium 274
 a longe 47
alques 71
 alter 71, 233, 395
 altiare 34
 altior 377
 altissimus 377
 altitia 37
alto (adv.) 40
 altra 233
 altrui 395
 alumnu (nom.) 372
am 78
 amadus = -t- 286
 amantis (nom.) 367
amào 424
 amaricare 34
 ama(t) 285
 ambitare 405
 ambolare 232
 ambulare 10, 232, 405
amei 424
 amenus 215
 amfora 334
 amicicia 276
amido 187
amistat 154
 amita 239, 359, 359 (1)
 amitane 359 (1)
 amitanis 359
 amma 16
 amnavit 405
amd 424
 a modo 47
amourette 37 (-ittus)
 ampitzatru 277
 ampora 334
 amurca 186
 amure 203
 amygdalum 19
 an 11, 14, 83
 -an 36
 -âv 36
 anangi 331
 anathema 19
 anathematizare 19
 anc 40
 anc = hanc 251
anca 343
 ancilia 187
 ancora 150, 187
 -ancus 37 (-incus)
 -anda 37
 andare 405
andata 37 (-ta)
 Andreani 359 (1)
 Andreate 359 (2)
 andron 331
 anellus 37, 42

- anemis 232
 -aneus 39, 42
 angelice 40
 angelus 19
Angers 86
 anglicus 39
 angostia 208 (1)
 anguil(l)a 163
 ang(u)lus 233
 angustiare 34
 Anicius 276
 animabus 358
animalico 37 (-icca)
 Anitius 276
 Annanis 359
 annare 405
 annata 37 (-ta)
 Annenis 359
 annitare 405
 annotavimus = -bi- 318
 annulare 405
 anos = annos 247
 -ans 39
 anser 13
 anta 239
 ante 96
 antemittere 46
 antestetis (nom.) 367
 -antia 37
 anticus 226
antiefne 184
 antiphona 184
 anus = annos 244
 -anus 39, 42
Aorist 124
apcha 343
 aperii 428
 apersi 428, 429
 apertus 436
 apotheca 182
 apothecarius 39
 apparescere 35
ap̃po 78
 appendere 12
ap̃prio 410
 apsens 315
 apsolvere 315
 apte = -æ 244
 apud 14, 78, 282
 aput 282
 aqua 164, 223
aquilotto 37 (-ottus)
 -ar 37
Arbonenca 37 (-incus)
 arbor (masc.) 346 (4)
 arb(o)rem 235
 arboricellus 153
 ardente(m) 309
 ardere 399
ardire 343
 -are (infin.) 33, 34, 36, 397-8
 -are (nouns) 37
 ares = aries 225
 aretem 225
 argentum 259
 -aria 37
 -aricius 39
 arida (noun) 13
 ar(i)dorem 219
 ar(i)dus 237
 aries 225, 255
 ariex = -s 255
 -aris 39
 -aris > -alis 292
 -arius 39
armeise 184
 armentas 352
 -aro 39 (-arius)
 Aroncianus 276
 arrespex = haruspex 251
 Arrius 251
arroser 356 (3)
 arsi 429
 arsus 441
 artemisia 184
artetico 184
 arthriticus 184
Article 57, 68, 392
 artic(u)lus 234
 arvorum = adversum 281
 (2)
 arvum > arum 226
 -as 38
 -as > -i 443
 ascella = axilla 42, 255
 ascendiderat 426
 ascetes 182
 ascla 284
 ascolta 228
 a semel 47
 asargo 31
 aspectare 25
Aspirates 249-52, 265
 aspra 233
 -asse 161
 -assem 161
 -ássemus 433
 -ássetis 433
Assibilation 277-8, 260-1
Assimilation 229 (3), 255, 264, 265, 267, 269, 282, 293, 307, 310, 315
Asti 86
 astula 284
 at 11
 at = ad 282
 -ata 37 (-ta)
 -aticum 37
 atque- 24, 65
 atque ille 24
 atque ipse 65
 atque is 65
 atrium 12
 atta 16, 359 (1)
 Attane 359 (1)
 atticissare 33
 attinxi 429
 Attitta 37 (-ittus)
 -attus 37
 at ubi 48
 -atus 37 (-ta), 39, 42
 participle 435, 440
 au 178, 211-3, 228, 229 (7)
 accented 178, 211-3
 unaccented 228, 229 (7)
 au > o 229 (7)
 av 189
 auca 13, 236
 aucellus 13, 325
 aucidere 212
 audace (nom.) 367
 audi = audiui 227, 423
 audiendu'st 309

aud(i)entem 416
 aud(i)o 272-3, 416
 audiui(t) 285
 audus 236
 -aumus = -avimus 424
 aunc(u)lus 234, 236, 324
 Aureia = -elia 274
 Aureliati 359 (2)
 aurora 11
 aus = avus 241, 324
 ausare 18, 34
 ausculum = osc- 212
 Austus 263
 aut 174
 aut . . . aut 84
 -aut = -avit 424
 autem 11, 14
Authorities 5
 autor 266
 autumnal(e) 242
 auyo 272-3
 av- > au- 236, 241
 avaricia 276
avec 78
avello = *averlo* 293
 -avi > -ai 424
 avica 13, 236
 avicella 37, 42, 325
 av(i)dere 19
 avidus 236
 aviulus 13
 avis 13
 avis struthius 43
avire 400
 -avit > -ait -at -aut 241,
 424
 avo = avus 362
 avus 13
 ayo = habeo 273

 b: see Labials
baboni 362
 bac(c)a 163
bacito 37 (-ittus)
 bac(u)lus 234
 Baiocasses 151
 bajulus 233
 Baleria = Va- 316

Balerius = Va- 316
 bal(i)neum 146, 219
 balneus 347
 ballæna 150, 162, 333
 balneum 146: balneus 347
 balteum -us 347
 bannus 19
 baplo 235
 baptidiare 339
 baptisma 149
 baptizare 19, 33, 339
 baptizatio 19
 barba -anis 359, 359(1)
 barbane 359(1)
 barbar 242
 barbo -onis 359(1)
 barbutus 42
 baro 16
 bassiare 275
 bas(s)ium 163
basso 40
 battalia 16
battei 426
 ba(t)t(u)ere 137, 226
Bayeux 151
 bel(l)ua 164
 Bellus -onis 362
 bene 40, 74
 bene bene 55
 benegnus 172 (2)
 bene placitum 43
 Beneria = Ve- 316
 benignis 376
 benivulus 201
 berbeces 323
 berbex (-ix) 42, 317, 323
bestemmia 182
 Betrubius 316
beveire 37 (-tor)
 bi- 22
 bianca 341
 biber 242
 biblia 146
 bibui 428
 bibutus 438, 439
 Bictor 316
 biduanus 39
bieta 184

bifolco 318 (2)
 biginti = vi- 316, 322
 -bilis 39
 bimaritus 22
 bintcente = vincente 260
 bis- 22
 bisaccium 22
 bisacutus 22
bisante 187
 bis coctum 43
 bis(s)it = vixit 255
 bivere = vi- 316
 bixit = vi- 316, 322
 blæsus 329
blanche 341
 blanka 341
 blankizare 34
 blasphemare 19, 36
 blasphemia 146, 182
 blasphemus 150
 blasta 312 (1)
 blitum 184
bobansa 336
 bobis = vo- 316
boccone 37 (-o)
bocconi 40
 Bodicca 37 (-icca)
 boletus 38, 184
Bologna 303
 bonatus 37 (-atus)
 Bonica 37 (-icca)
 bon(i)tatem 231
bonito 37 (-ittus)
 Bonitta 37 (-ittus)
 Bononia 303
 bonu 298
 bonus = -os 244
 bonus bonus 55
 bos = vos 316, 324
 botella 361
bottega 182
 botu = vo- 316, 322
 botula 361
 bovis (nom.) 367
 brac(c)a 163
 brachiale 37
 brac(c)hium 163
 brachia 352

branca 16
Breaking 177
 breviarium 37
 brevis 13
 Brittanice 40
 bruchus 193
 buplicæ = pu- 312 (1)
 bublus 235
 bubulcus 318 (2)
 buc(c)a 12, 163
 bullicare 35
Buolognino 154
 burrus 330
 Burrus 187
 bursa 187
 buscus 255
busta 187
 but(t)is 163
 butyrum 150
 buxida 187, 356 (3)
 buxus 187, 330
 Byzacinus 42

c: see Gutturals
 c for g 253
 cy 276, 278
 -c 40
 caballus 12
 cabia = cavea 318
 cactivus 313
 cactus 313
 cadedi 428
 cadēre 402
 caderunt 426
 cadui 428
 cælebramus (**perf.**) 424
 cælus 347
 Cæseris 233
 cæsorium 37
caeth 313
 calamarium 37
 calamellus 37
 calamus 150
 calatus = ga- 330
 calcai = -avi 424
 calcaneum 37 (-ium)
 calce pistare 46
 calciare 224

calcis (**nom.**) 367
 calcius 224
 calcoste(g)is 259
caldo 40
 cal(e)facere 219
 calefacis 139
 calere 288
 cal(i)dus 155, 219, 237
 calisco 414
calma 268
calotta 187
cal's 255
 calumpnia 307
 calura 42
 camel(l)us 42, 150, 163
 camera 145
camerlingo 37 (-ing)
 caminus 150
 camisia 201 (1)
 cammarus 330
 canalia 37
 cani (**pl.**) 368
 cantare 34
 capabilis 39
 capēre 8, 402
 capiclus 234, 284
 capire 406
 cap(i)talīs 231
 capitānus 39
 capitium 37 (-ium)
 capitulus 42, 234
 capītus 440
 capriolus 224
 captiare 34
 captio 9
 captivare 34
 captivus 313
 capud 282
 capui 428
 capum 285, 356 (3), 369
 capus 285, 356 (3), 369
 caput 13, 282, 285, 356 (3),
 369
 cardonis (**nom.**) 367
 cardu(u)s 226
 carissimus 377
 caritabilis 39
 Caritta 37 (-ittus)

carnis (**nom.**) 367
 carnutus 39, 42
 caroneus 39
 carrica 11
 car(ri)care 18, 33, 231, 239
 cartas (**nom. pl.**) 357 (1)
 carum 263
 casa 12
Cases 85-100, 354, 372, 383
 caseum -us 347; **cf.** 163
casotta 37 (-ottus)
 cas(s)eus 163; **cf.** 347
 Cassiabus 358
 cas(s)us 161
 castaneus 346 (1)
 castellus 347
 castius 277
 castore (**nom.**) 367
 cata 19, 71
 cata unus 71
 cataveris = -d- 256
 catechizare 19, 33
 cat' unus 71
 cauculus 288
 cauditus 42
 caus(s)a 161
 cavia 224
 -ce 40
cecino 187, 330
 cedat = cædat 210
cedo 162
 cedrus 182
cefalo 334
 celeps 315
 celerus 376
 -cellus 37
Celtic Words 19
 ce(n)sor 311
 census 260
 centu 381
 ceperint 215
 cepi 215
 cerasus 38, 195 (3)
 cerbus 323
 cerebellum 231
 cereolus 13
 cereseus 195 (3)
 ceresus 38, 195 (3)

- certitudo 37
petto 162
 -ceus 39
 Chairibertus 39 (-arius)
chaloir 288
Change of Meaning 8-10
Change of Suffix 42
 chan(n)e 163
 chartaceus 39
cher 263
chiaro (adv.) 40
chiave 288
 Chilperico 343
chiosa 185
Chiusi 86
 cholera 145
 chommoda 251
 c(h)orda 186, 332
 Chrestus 184
 chrisma 184
 C(h)ristus 184, 332
cib 206
 cicinus 330
 -cillus > -cellus 42
 cima 38, 187
 cimiterium 192
 cinctus 254
 cinctus 440
 cinco(gi)nta 254, 379, 380
 cinque 254, 379
 cinsum = ce- 196
 cinus 347, 370
 cinxi 429
 cip(p)us 163
 circa 80, 96
 circare 16
 circueo 309
 circumdavit 430
 cis 14
 cit(h)era, -ara 38, 233
 cito 162
 citrus 329
ciurma 191
 -cius 39
 civ(i)tas 12, 231
 clamantis (nom.) 367
 clarisco 414
 Cla(u)dius 211 (1)
- claudio 236, 325
 clausi 429
 clausus 441
 clavem 288
 clavido 236, 325
 Clepatra 191
clerc 154
clergue 154
Clerical Pronunciation
 218, 259¹, 260¹, 276, 277,
 297¹, 318 (1), 333 (1)
 clericatus 37
 cler(i)cus 39, 154, 239
 Clio 190
 Clodius 212
 cloppus 16
 closa 212
 cludo 211 (2)
 -clus 234
 co = quod 282
 coacla 289 (1)
 coactum 310
coccodrillo 294
 cocens 226
 coclearium 356 (3)
 coelia 224
 cocodrilus 294
 cocus 226
 coda 212, 213
 codex 213
 cometerium 192
 caepi 72, 124
 coexcitare 30
 coexercitatus 30
 cofecisse 311
 cognatus 9, 269
 co(g)nosco 43, 197, 269, 310
 cognovi 428
 cognusco 197
 cohærere 310
 cohors 12, 310
 coicere 310
 coiugi 271; cf. 311
 cojectis 311
 cojugi 311; cf. 271
 colaphizare 19
 col(a)p(h)us 19, 150, 154,
 186, 237, 330, 332
- colbe* 154
 coles 213
 coliandrum 292
 collecta 37 (-ta)
 collectus 37 (-ta)
 colli(g)ens 259
 col(li)gere 31, 139, 259, 272,
 305, 444
 colliget 444
 col(lo)care 9, 31, 231, 239
collo 160
 collus -um 347
 colober 208
 colobra 208 (2), 217
 colomna 208
 coloquinta 187
 color (fem.) 346 (2)
colp 154
 colustra 197
comenzare 276
cominciare 276
 cominiciare 276
 cominiare 25, 153, 276
 comitem 235
 commando 31
comment 41
 commixtus 23
 comodo = quo- 226
 comœdia 192
 comparare 8, 12, 231, 233
Comparison 56
 comperare 231, 233
 complacere 25
 complire 400
Compound Words 43-9, 64
 comprehendit 250
 computare 31
 computus 235
comuna 376
 con- 23, 25
 concha 186
 concupiscencia 276
 condam 254
 cōdedit 139
 conder(e) 242
 condicio 276
 conditio 276
Conditional 124, 130, 411

confessor 18
 confortare 25, 34
 conger 329
 Congianus 272
 congigi 259
Conjugation 101-30, 396-450
 Four Conjugations 396-407
 First 397-8
 Second 399-401
 Third 402-6
 Fourth 407
 Fundamental Changes 408-12
 Imperfect 420-1
 Inchoative Verbs 413-5
 Perfect 422-31
 Strong 427-31
 Weak 422-6
 Perfect Participle 434-41
 Personal Endings 442-50
 Pluperfect and Future Perfect 432-3
 Present Stems 416-9
 Use of Forms 101-30
Conjunctions 82-4
 co(n)jus 255
 co(n)jux 171, 255, 311
 committere 32
 connato 269
conobbi 428
conoisser 413
 conopeum 146
 conovutus 440
 compendium 32
 complere 306
 consacrati 31
 conservam(m)us 163
 consensia 260, 275
 consili 227
 consilium 42
consirier 37 (-erium)
Consonants
 Aspirate 249-52
 Dentals 280-6

Double: see Double Consonants
Germanic: see Germanic Consonants
Greek: see Greek Consonants
 Groups 131-2, 160
 Gutturals 253-70
 Labials 312-26
 Latin 246-8
 Letters 246
 Liquids 287-96
 Nasals 303-11
 Palatals 271-8
 Sibilants 297-302
 constare 31
 consuere 31, 137
 consuetudo 42
 co(n)sul 171, 311
 conteneo 139
 continari 226
 contra 96
 contra- 26
 contrafacere 26
 co(n)ventio 171
 convivare 25
 coperire 225
 copersi 429
 copertus 436
 cophinus 186
 coque 254
 coraticum 18, 37
corbeau 323
 corbi 323
corbo 323
 corcodilus 294
 corcodrillus 294
 cores = corda 369
 corium 294
 Corneius = -elius 274
 Cornelio (nom.) 298
 cornicula 42
 cornu -um -us 347, 355 (1)
 cor(o)nare 231
corp 323
 corpes = corpora 369
corpi -ora 369
 corpo = corpore 356 (3)

corpo 160
 corregia 201
 corridiæ 272
 corrigo 305
 corrotulare 229
 cors 12, 310
corso 208
 cortem 203, 225
 cortensis 39
 cortilis 39
 cortis 250
corvo 323
 corvus 323
 cosol 311
 costumen 42
 cosul 305
 cot 254
 cotes 212
 cotidiæ 244
 cot(t)idie 162, 226, 244, 254
couleuvre 208 (2)
court 203
couvent 311
 covenimus 311
 coventionid 311
 covetum = cubitum 208
 coxale 37
 coxi 429
crebbi 428
credea 421
 crededi 31, 139
 credens (noun) 13, 39
 credentia 37 (-antia)
crédere 410
 credutus 438, 439
 crepatus 435
 crepavi 428
 Crescentsianus 277
 cresco 255
cresima 184
cresme 184
 crevi 428
 crevutus 440
 criblare 292
crigne 351
 c'ritare 229
criz 206
 crocitare 35

crocodilus 150, 294
 c'rot'lare 229
 crucifigere 46
 crudilitas 197
 -crum 37 (-culum)
 crupta 187
 crus 13
 crust(u)lum 234
 crypta 187
 cubidus = cupidus 256
 cuculla 13; cf. 346 (4)
 cucullus -a 346 (4)
cuervo 369
 culcitra 294
 -culum 37, 234
 -culus > -cellus 42
 -c(u)lus 42, 234
 cum (conj.) 82, 226
 cum (prep.) 14, 78, 95, 305
 cumba 187
 cun = cum 305
 cunnuscit 269
 cuntellum = cul- 289 (2)
cuoio 296
cuopre 160
cuore 160, 177
 cupa(t) 285
 cupire 406
 cupit 423
 cup(p)a 163
 cupressus 150
 cur 12, 82
 curabit = -avit 318, 322
 currens 39
 cursi 429
 cursorium 37
 curvus 323
Cusanca 37 (-incus)
 cy 276-8
 cy = ty 277
 cynus 187, 330
 cyma 38, 187; (fem.) 349
 cymba 187
 cymiterium 192
 cypressus 150

d: see **Dentals**
 dy 272

da 48
 dacruma 281 (1)
 dactylus 19
 dad 48
 Dafne 334
dai 298
 dampnum 307
 Danuvium 318
 dao 397
 dare 397
 datius 324
Dative 90-1, 383
dau 397
daun 397
 dave 48
 de 14, 48, 77, 88, 92, 95
 de- 23, 25
 de- > di- 229 (2)
 deabus 358
 de ad 48
 de ante 48
 deaurare 23, 25
debbio 273
 debeo 273
 debere 10, 72, 117, 126 (4)
 debita 37
 deb(i)tum 235, 239
 decanus 39
 dece(m) 309
 decem et (or ac) septem
 379
 dece(m)bris 306
 decemter 306
 dec(i)mus 239
Declension 85-100, 354-76
 Adjectives 374-6
 Fall of Decl. 100, 372-3
 Nouns 354-73
 Shift of Decl. 355-6, 376
 First 357-60
 Second 361-3
 Third 364-71
 Use of Cases 85-100
 declivis 376
 de contra 47
 decumus 220
 dede = dedit 285
 de deorsum 47

dedi 430
 dedicait 424
 ded(i)cavit 231
 dedro dedrot 285
 deexacerbare 30
 deexcitare 30
 defeniciones 276
 defensa 37 (-ta)
 defensi 429
 defensorius 39
 defensus 441
 deferet 406
Definite Article 68, 392
 de foris 47, 81
 defuntus 267, 306
deggio 273
 defna 324
 de inter 48
 de intro 47
 de intus 47, 48
 deitas 37
 del(i)catus 227
 delitus 198
 delta 329
 de magis 47
 de medio 47
 deminat 139
Dentals
 d 272, 281-3
 dy 272
 nd > nn 281
 Final 282, 285
 Intervocalic 283, 286
 nd > nn 281
 nt 285
 st 285
 t 284-6
 denumerat 424
 deo(r)sum 291, 324
 deorsum 224
Deponent Verbs 113, 409
 de post 48
 deprendere 250
 de retro 47, 48, 292
Derivation 20-49
 descendidi 426
 de semel 47
despereisser 414

desso 62
dester 255
desto 225
de sub 48
de super 48
de sursum 47
detti 426
de unde 70, 393
deus 167
devere 318
devetis 318
devidere 229 (4)
devinus 229 (4)
devitum 318
dexcito 225; cf. 30
dextro(r)sus 291
doyo 273
dia = dies 355 (2), 397
dia 397
diabulus 38
diaconissa 19
Dialects 2, 3
dibeto 196
Dibona 318
dic 264, 406, 412
dice = dic 412
dice(m) 309
dicere 406
dicimus 448
dicitis 448
dicitus = -g- 253
dictus 166, 440
dictus = digitus 233, 238, 259
-didi > -dei 426
dies 13, 167, 355 (2)
dietro 292
digita 351, 361
digitus 233, 238, 253, 259
ignus 172 (2)
dilevit 229 (2)
diligibilis 39
dimmi 264
dinus = divinus 324
Dionigi 227
Dionysii 227
diosum = deorsum 291
Diphthongization 177

Diphthongs 177, 209-16
æ 209-10
au 211-3
eu 214
œ 215
ui 216
diposio 277
dire 406
directus 229
diri(g)ens 259
dirivare 229 (2)
dis- 23, 25
discere 12
disfacit 139
disfactus 23
dis(je)junare 25, 229
displacet 139
displicina 289 (1)
Dissimilation 167, 195 (6), 229 (4), 254, 289 (2), 292, 303, 421, 426, 431
distinguere 223, 226
dita 351
diu 11, 13
diurnus 13
divisi 429
divisus 441
divite (nom.) 367
divota 229 (2)
dixemus 232
dixi 429
dodecim 225
doga 186, 333
dolor (fem.) 346 (2)
dolus = dolor 18, 21
domatus 435
domin(i)ca 239
dominicus 9, 239
domnani 359 (1)
domnicellus 37
domnicus 235
domnina 37
domnizare 33
domnulus 235
domnus 235
domus 12; (masc. and fem.) 346 (1); (2d decl.) 355 (1)

donec 11
dont 70
donum (masc.) 349
dormio 224
dormito 309
dormitorium 37
dormo 416
dorsus 347
dossum 291
dou 397
Double Consonants 161-4, 247, 328
Double = Single 162-3, 247
Double > Single 161, 328
Single > Double 164, 328
Double Forms 158
Double Negation 75
Double Prefixes 30
doucel 37 (-ittus)
doussa 376
drachma 144
drappus 16
d'rectus 229
Dreux 151
drieto 292
dub(i)tare 231
ducalis 39
ducatu 37 (-ta)
duce = duc 412
ductus 440
dui 167, 378
dukissa 37
dulcior (noun) 18
dulcor 18, 37
dume(c)ta 266
dunc 40
d'unde 70, 393
duo 378
duos 138
durare 229 (5)
Duration 99
duricia 276
Durocasses 151
duxi 429
e 165, 177, 196-9, etc.
accented 165, 196-9

- ē 196-8
 ĕ 177, 199
 η 182
 € 183
 ē > i 196-8
 e unacc. > i 229 (2)
 e > y 224
 ê prefixed to s + cons.
 230
 eé > e 225
 eu 214
 ié > e 225
 unaccented 219, 228, 229
 (2), 232, 243, 244
 ē > e 165
 ĕ > ě 165
 η 182
 € 183
 e- 28
 -e 40
 -e > -æ 174, 244
 -e > -i 244, 364
 -η 38
 -ea 421
 eacit = jacet 224
 eam = jam 224
 -ebam: see -ea
 ebbi 411
 ecca 24
 eccam 24
 eccas 24
 ecce- 24, 65
 ecce ego 65
 ecce hic 24, 65
 ecce ille 24, 65
 ecce iste 24, 65
 ecce nunc 65
 ecce tu 65
 eccillam 24
 eccillud 24
 eccillum 24
 eccistam 24
 ec(c)lesia 146, 162, 182, 328
 eccos 24
 eccu- 24, 65
 eccu' 'ic 326
 eccu' ille 24, 65
 eccu' iste 24, 65, 326
 eccum 24, 62, 65
 eccu' sic 24
 e contra 47
 ecus 226
 edediderit 426
 edere 13
 edificaī 424
 -edo > -ido 197
 edus = hædus 210
 eé > e 225
 effigia 355 (2)
 effondrer 356 (2)
 effrenis 376
 eglesia 256
 egloge 330
 e(g)o 60, 73, 263, 385
 ego-met-ipse 66
 € 190
 -ei 411
 -ēia 146
 eīius 271
 -eiv 36
 eio = ejus 298
 -ēiōv 146
 ejus 170, 298
 elementum 231
 elephantus 38
 elex = ilex 200 (2)
 elifanti (pl.) 368
 elimentum 231
 -elis > -ilis 197
 Elision 157, 242
 -elius > -ilius 197
 -ellus 37, 42
 elmo 343
 elud = illud 201
 -elus > -ellus 42
 emere 12
 encaustum 149
 Encitics 156
 -enda 37 (-anda)
Endings: Personal 442-50
 enim 11
 -ens 39 (-ans)
 -e(n)simus 311
 -e(n)sis 39, 311
 -ent > -eunt 416, 449
 -ent > -unt 449
 -entia 37 (-antia)
 -enus > -inus 42
 eo = ego 73, 385
 eo quod 82, 110
 eoru 309
 episcopalis 39
 epistula 144
 equus 12
 equus = æquus 210
 -er > -re 245
 -er 39 (-arius)
 érable 43
 -ere (perf.) 450
 -ere > -ire 197
 eredes 251
 -ërem 346 (3)
 eremus 150
 eres 251
 erga 14
 ergo 11, 14
 ericius 42
 erigere 31, 429
 -erium 37
 erminomata 191
 ero 411
 -ero 39 (-arius)
 ersi 429
 erubisco 414
 -ërunt 450
 ervum > erum 226
 ervus (3d decl.) 356 (2)
 -es > -i 443
 -es = -is 174, 244, 365-6,
 444
 es- = ex- exs- 230, 255
 -ης 38
 Esaram 233
 -escere 34, 35, 197, 413-4
 eschernir 341
 eschine 341
 esclate 343
 -esco > -isco 197 414
 escupare 255
 es(i)mus 419 (1)
 -esimus > -isimus 197
 esmes 419 (1)
 espīar 343
 espīer 343

- espiritum 230
esquena 341
esquiver 343
 essagium 255
 esse 112-4, 126 (2), 419 (1)
 esse = essere 419
 esse = sedere 402
 -esse 161
 -essem 161
 essere = esse 419
 es(t) 285
 estatio 230
estau 397
estaun 397
 Estephanus 230
estou 397
estribar 341
 esum 419 (1)
 -et = -it 244, 444
 et at ubi 49
 et . . . et 84
 Ethiopia 188
 etiam 11, 14, 277
 etsi 14
 et sic 47
 -etus 437
 eu 214
eu 190
 Eugeneti 359 (2)
 -eum 37
 eunuchizare 19
 Eurur 191
 -eus 39
 Euua 344
 evangelizare 19
 -evi > -ei 424
Evidence 5
 ex 14, 77, 92, 95
 ex- 23, 25
 ex- = es- 230, 255
 -ex > -ix 42
 exaltare 25
 exauguratus 39
 eccellente (nom.) 367
 excoriare 25
 excussi 429
 excussus 441
 exeligere 30, 274
 exeligit 274
 exe(m)plu 306
 exiat 224
 exient 449
 exinde 60
 exire 31, 266
 exodus 337
 expabui 428
 expandutus 441
 expaventare 35
 explendido 230
 exquartiare 276
 exs- = es- 230
 exstinctus 440
 exstinxi 429
 exsucidus 39
 exsucus 23
 extensa 37
 extimare 255
 extra- 27
 extrabuccare 27
 extranus 42
 ex tunc 47
 -ezza 277

f: see Labials
 fa 264, 404
 fabam 320 (1)
 fab(u)la 236
 fac 264, 404
faccia 278
 face = fac 412
 facentem 416
 facere 10, 404
 facheret 410
 faciam 278
 facias 224
 fac(i)ebam 225, 420
 facienda 37
 facimus 448
 facire 404
 facitis 448
 factum 266
 factus 440
 facul 242
 fæcit 209
 fædus 320 (1)
 fæmina 209
 fænum 209
 fænus 347
 fageus 39
 faila 324
 fait 266
 fallii 430
 fallire 406
 fallitus 441
 falsare 34
 falsitas 37
 familia 42
 famis 366
fammi 264
 famul 242
 famulabus 358
fante 311
 faor 324
 farcitus 440
 fare 404
 farsus 440, 440
 fascia 10, 275
 faselus 334
 fasena 320 (1)
 fasia = faciat 285
 fasiolus 224
 fata 266
 fatatus 39
 fate 404
 fatus 347
 faula 236, 318
 febrarius 226
 feced = fecit 282
 fec(e)ru(nt) 233
 feci 430
 fëhu 343
 felicla 234
 felis 255
 fem(i)na 239
 feminabus 358
Feminine: see Gender
femps 356 (2)
 femus (3d decl.) 356 (2)
 fenire 229 (4)
 fenum 209
 ferbeo 323
 feritus 434
 ferre 12
ferro 160

- fervere 399
 fervura 37
 fesit 260
feu 343
fezem 44
fiaba 289 (1)
 fiam 419 (2)
 fib(u)la 235
 ficatum 16, 141
 ficit 197
 fictus 440
 ficus (masc. and fem.) 346
 (1)
 ficus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 fidens 311
fiele 160
fiens 356 (2)
 fieri 112, 409, 419 (2)
fiero 160
 fiet 419 (2)
 figel 242
 fijos = filios 274
 filiabus 358
 filias (nom.) 357 (1)
 filiaster 13
 filio(s) 298
 filius 155, 274; = filios 244
 filix 197
 fillio 247
Fimes 86
Final Syllable 240-5
 finctus 440
 finis (adj.) 17
 finiscere 35
 finxi 429
fio 343
fiorentino 154
fioretto 37 (-ittus)
fiorisce 414
 fir- 29
 fircum 320 (1)
Firenze 86
 Firmus -onis 362
 fiscla 234
 fistula 234
 fistus 197
 fixi 429
 fixus 441
 flaba 289 (1)
 flagrare 292
 flaonis 324
 flator 37
 flaus 240, 324
 flavor 37
 fletus 11
 fleuma 268
fleurit 414
fleuve 208 (2)
 floralis 292
 florecer 414
 Florentinus 37
 florire 400
 florisco 400
 flovium 208 (2), 217
 fluviorum 224
 foces 213
 focus 8, 12
 fodiri 406
 folia 352
 follia (noun) 18
 follicare 33
 fons (fem.) 346 (4)
fons 356 (2)
fonte 205
fonz 356 (2)
 foras 81, 96
forbatre 29
forbire 407
Foreign Words 19; see
 Germanic Words and
 Greek Words
 foresia 311
 foris 81
 foris- 29
 forisfacere 29
 forismittere 46
 formaceus 39
 formosus 161
 formunsus 208
 forsitan 305
 forte 40
 fortescere 34
 fortia 37
 fortis 10
 fortis fortis 55
fossato 37 (-ta)
 fractus 440
 fragellum 289 (2)
 fragilis 233
 fragrantia 37
 fra(g)rare 270
Francesco 341
 fractus 440
 Frankensis 39
 Frankiscus 39, 341
 Franko 341
 franxi 429
frate 295
fratello 388
 frat(t)re 164
 frax(i)nus 239; (mc.) 346(1)
 fraumenta 268
 frecare 201; cf. 256
 frenum -us 347
 fricatus 435, 440
 fricda = frigida 238, 259
 frictus 440
 frigare 256; cf. 201
 frigidaria 219, 231
 frigidura 37
 Frigia 187
 frig(i)du 166, 200 (1), 233,
 238, 259
 frigora 351
 frigorem 347
 frixi 429
 frondifer 11
 frualitas 263
 fructa 351, 361
 fructus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 frundes 205
frunza 351
frutta 351
 fugii 430
 fugire 406
 fugitus 439
 fūi 431
 ful(i)ca 237
 fumát 424
 fundus (3d decl.) 356 (2)
 fundutus 441
 funtes 205
 funus 11
fuore 160

- furbjan 407
 furma 203
 furnica 229 (6)
 fusa 351
 fusi 429
 fusus 441
Future 125-9, 411
 New Fut. 127-9, 411
 Periphrastic Fut. 126
 Pres. for Fut. 126 (1)
Future Perfect 119, 123-4, 410, 423

g: see Gutturals
 gy 272
 gabata 13, 236
 gabta 236
gaita 343
gaite 343
 galatus 330
 gallina 288
 gamba 13, 263, 331
 gammarus 330
 garba 341
 garofulum 149
 garum 329
 gaudia (sg.) 352
 gaudimonium 20
 gaudutus 441
 gauta 236
 gaveola 257
 gavia 16
gecchire 343
 geisla 341
 geiuna = je- 259
geline 288
 gelus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 gemellus 13
 gemire 406
 gemitus 439
 gemui 428
 gena 13
Gender 345-53
 Fem. and Neut. 351-3
 Masc. and Fem. 346
 Masc. and Neut. 347-50
 Neut. Pl. > Fem. Sg. 352
 Neut. Pron. and Adj. 350

 genesis 148, 183
Genitive 88-9, 383
 genitores 12
 genitus 17
genna 229 (1)
 gentilis 17
 gentis (adj.) 17
 gen(u)arius = jan- 259
 genuculum 37, 42
 genuflectere 46
 genum 355 (1)
 Gepte 259
gequir 343
 Gerapolis = Hier- 259
gerbe 341
Germanic Consonants
 340-4
 b, c, g 341
 ð, þ 342
 h 343
 w 344
Germanic Endings 36
Germanic Words 19, 152, 340-4
 Germanissa 37
Gerund 104
Gerundive 105
gesso 187
 gesta (sg.) 352
 gîga 341
giga 341
 gigantem 229 (3)
ginocchioni 40
Giovannoni 362
 giret 187
 girus 187
giscle 341
 glacia 355 (2)
 Glacus 211 (1)
 gladium 347
 glanderia 39
glatz 355 (2)
 Glaucé - énis 359
 Glaucu (nom.) 372
 glirem 166
 glos(s)a 161, 185
 gluria 203
 glut(t)ire 162

 glut(t)o 163
 gnæus 324
gocciare 276
 goerus 187
 golosus 228
 gonger 329
goule 177
 gracilis 233
 gracilus 376
 grada 351
 gradus 355 (1)
 grandis 12
 granditia 37
 graphium 145
grassetto 37 (-ittus)
 grassus 257
 gratis = cratis 257
 gravare 34
 gravior 377
 grece 210
Greek Accent 143-50
 Oxytones 144
 Paroxytones 145-6
 Proparoxytones 147-50
Greek Consonants 327-39
 β, γ, δ 329
 κ, π, τ 330-1
 θ, φ, χ 332-4
 Liquids 335
 Nasals 336
 σ, ξ 337
 ς 338-9
Greek Endings 36, 38, 146
Greek Vowels 180-93
 Diphthongs 188-93
 Single Vowels 180-7
Greek Words 19, 36, 38, 143-50, 180-93, 327-39
greii 40
 grevior 377
 grevis 195 (4)
 grex (fem.) 346 (4)
 grossior 377
grotta 187
 gruis (nom.) 367
 grunnio 281
guarire 344
guarnire 36, 407

- guatare* 343
gubernamentum 37
gubernare 36, 330
guerra 344
guidare 36, 398
guiderdone 342
guisa 344
gulo 37
gumma -i -is 38, 186, 330
gustus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
guttur (masc.) 347
Gutturals 253-70
 c > c' 258, 260-1
 c > g 256-7
 c, g before back vowels 263
 c, g before cons. 265-70
 c, g final 264
 ct 266
 g > g' 258-9, 261
 g intervocalic 263
 gm 268
 gn 172 (2), 269
 gr intervocalic 270
 gy 272
 k 253
 nct 267
Palatalization 258-62
 qu 254
 sc > sc' 260
 x 255, 266
gylosus 228
gyrus 187

h 249-52
 h > k 252
habam = *fabam* 320 (1)
habe = *ave* 318
habe(b)am 421
habeo 273
habere 10, 121-4, 127-30, 239, 273, 285, 400, 401, 421, 438, 449
 haber 242
habe(t) 285
habeunt 416, 449
habibat 400
habire 400

hab(i)tus 239
hábuerat 137
habutus 438
hache 343
hacherece 39
hædus 320 (1)
hamula 235
hanca 343
hanche 343
hant 401
hao 401
hapja 19, 343
haram 251
hardir 343
hardjan 343
harena 320 (1)
haribergum 19
has 401
hat 401
hatire 36
hatjan 36
haud 11
haunitha 342
haunjan 19
haunt 401
havite 400
haz 355 (2)
hegit 251
hëlm 343
helme 343
hepatia 19
here 219, 244
heredes (sg.) 367
heremum 251
Hiatus 136-8, 222-7
hibernus 13
hic 63-4, 67-8
hic ipse 64
hiem(p)s 13, 297
hiens = *iens* 251
hilerus 233
hinsidias 251
hircum 320 (1)
his = *is* = *ins* 230
hispatii = *spatii* 230
historia 146
ho 40
hoc 63, 163, 350

hocsies 277
hodie 272
hodio 251
hom(i)nes 232, 235
homni (pl.) 368
homo 10, 71
honera 251
honor 346 (2)
honte 342
hora 12, 185
hordeum 272
horrescere 11
hortesia 311
hospitale 12
hossa 251
hostium 251
Húgo Hûgon = *Húgo Hugónem* 152, 362
huile 274
humerus 12
humiliare 34
Huon 152, 362

i 165, 200-1, etc.
accented 200-1
 ī 200
 i 201
 i > e 201
 e > i 201
 i > i 165, 200
 ī > e 201
 i > i > e 165, 201
 i (cons.) 222
 i > y 224
 -i > -e 224
 ι (Greek) 184
 -ι (Greek) 38
 ié > e 225
 ii > i 227
prefixed to s + cons. 230
unaccented 219, 221, 228, 229(3)(4), 240, 243, 244
 in hiatus 222, 224-5, 227
 ī > e 229 (4)
 i > a 229 (3)
 -ia 37, 146
 -la 37, 146

-iamus 224
 -iare 33, 34
 -ibilis 39
 -ibo 125
 -ic 251
 -ica 37
 -icare 33, 34, 35
 -icca 37
 -iccus 37
 -icem 42, 346 (3)
 -iceus 37, 39, 42
 -icius 37, 39, 42
 icse 313
 -iculare 35
 -iculus 42
 -icus 39
 idem 61, 309
 id ipsum 62, 350
 idolum 150, 190
 -idus 39
 -i(d)yare 339
 ié > e 225
 -iebam > -ebam 225; >
 -ibam 420
 -ie(n)s 311
 Ienubam 259
 -ier 39
 -iere 39
 -ies > -ia 335 (2)
 iesta = gesta 259, 352
 ifer 311
 iferi 311
 iferos 306, 311
 ifimo 311
 ifra 311
 -igia 277
 igitur 11, 14
 ignire 33
 ignis 12
 ignotus 310
 -igo 37
 ii unaccented > i 227, 423
 -ilis 39
 -ilius 42
 illac 140
 illæ (dat.) 390
 illæi 390
 illæjus 390

ille 10, 61-8, 389-92
 illei 390
 ille ipse 64
 illejus 390
 illi = ille 390
 illic 140
 illo (dat.) 390
 illorum = suus 387
 illud > illum 282, 350
 illui 390
 illujus 390
 illum = illud 282, 350
 illurum 390
 -illus > -ellus 42
 im = in 310
 imaginarius 39
 imbecillis 376
 immudavit 256
Imperative 115-6, 412
 impinguare 25
 impinxi 429
 implicat 139
 implire 400
 -imus > -imus 447-8
 in 86, 92, 95, 96, 97
 in- 23, 25
 in + s > is 310
 inanimatus 23
 in ante 47, 48
 incendiderit 426
Inchoative Verbs 400,
 413-5
 inclausus 139
 incohare 250
 in contra 47, 48
 incudo 42, 370
 incuminem 42
 incus 42
 -incus 37
 inde 60, 71, 384
 inde fugere 46
Indefinite Article 57
Indefinite Pronouns: see
 Pronouns
Indicative
 Conditional 130, 411
 for Imperative 116, 412
 for Subjunctive 117

Future 125-9, 411
Future Perfect 119,
 123-4, 410
Imperfect 120, 420-1
Perfect 121-4, 422-31
Pluperfect 123-4, 410,
 432
Present 120, 273, 397,
 401, 403-5, 415, 416-9
 indicibilis 39
 induruit 224
 -inem 346 (3)
 infa(n)s 10, 311
 i(n)fans 171
 infantiliter 40
 i(n)feri 171, 219
 infernus 13
Infinitive
 as Noun 111
 Conjugations 396-407
 dicere 406
 esse 419
 facere 404
 for Clause 111
 for Imperative 116
 for Subjunctive 111, 117
 for Supine and Gerund
 103, 104
 habere 400
 Passive 109
 Perfect 109
 with habere 125-9, 411
 posse 403
 Present Active 102, 109
 velle 403
 with Accusative 82, 110
 inflare 31
Inflections
 Forms 345-450
 Use 85-130
 infra- 27
 inraponere 27
 infri 219
 infurcare 25
 -ing 37
 ingenium 9
 ingens 259
 in giro 48

-ingus 37 (-incus)
 in hodie 47
Initial Syllable 228-30
 inlatus 32
 in mane 47
 in medio 48
 innoce(n)ti 306
 innocus 226
 in odio 43
 inprobis 32
 inquit 282
 in quo ante 254
 -inquus 37 (-incus)
 ins- = is- 230
 in semel 47
insiememente 41
 insola 232
 instruo = struo 230
 ins(u)la 171, 233, 284
 intcitamento 260
 inte(g)rum 270
 Interamico 307
 Interanniensis 307
Interrogatives: see Pronouns
Intertonic Vowel 231
 intra 96
 intra- 27
 intratenere 27
 intravidere 46
 intre 245
 intro(r)sus 291
 intus in 49
 -inus 37, 42
 -īnus 39
 -io > -o 416
 ipsa mente 41
 ipse 61-8, 390-2
 ipse ille 64
 ipsejus 390
 ipsimus 66
 ipsud 390
 ipsujus 390
 ipsus 390
iraisser 413
 irascere 413
 ire 126 (5), 405
 -ire 33, 34

is 62-4, 67-8
 is- = ins- his- 230
 -is = -es 244, 365-6, 444
 -is 38
 -iscere 34, 35
Ischia 284
 ischola 230
 ischolasticus 230
 -isco for -esco 197, 414
 iscripta 230
 -iscus 39
 is ipse 64
 ismaragdus 230
 isperabi 230
 ispose 230
 -issa 37
 -issare 33
 isse 313
 -isse 161
 -issem 161
 -issimus 166
 istare 230
 istatuam 230
 iste 63-8, 390-2
 iste hic 64
 iste ille 64
 iste ipse 64
 istudio 230
 it = id 282
 -it = -et 244, 444
 ita 11
 Italia 224
Italic Tribes 1, 2
 -itare 34, 35
 -itas 37
 -īte > -fte 448
 -iter 40
 -itia 37, 277
 -ities 37
 -ītis > -ftis 448
 -ittus 37
 -itudo 37
 -ītus 42 (2), 436, 438, 440, 441
 -ītus 435, 438-9
 -ium 37
 -iunt > -unt 416
 -ius 39

-iva 37
 ivena 311
 -ivi > -ii > -i 423
 -ivit > -iut -iit > -it 423
 -ivum 37
 -ivus 39
 -ix 42
 -izare 33, 34, 339
 -ίειν 33
 izophilus 333

 j 271
 jacente(m) 309
 jadis 244
 Jacobus 150, 329
 Jacomus 329
 jagante 229 (3)
jaiant 229 (3)
 jajunus 229 (1)
jambe 263
 -jan 36
 janarius 226
jaquir 343
jauzei 426
 jēhan 343
jehir 343
 jejunus 229, 229 (1)
 jeniperus 229 (5)
 jenua 229 (1)
 jenuarius 229 (1)
jeune 208 (2)
 jiniperus 229 (5)
 Joanneni 359 (1)
 Joannentis 359 (2)
 Joannis 244
 jocus 12
 juvenis 208 (2), 217
 jovis 367
 jubari 322
 jubem(m)us 163
 jubenis 318
 jubentutis 318, 322
 jubere 11
 Judaizare 19
 judicat 424
 judicius 347
 judico 239
 judigsum 278

- juglus 233
 Julianenis 359
 Julianeta 37 (-ittus)
 Julitta 37 (-ittus)
 juncxi 305
 juniperus 229 (5)
 junxi 429
 Jup(p)iter 163
jurătorii 39
 juria 272
 jur(i)go 219
 jusso 355 (1)
 justicia 276
 justitia 276, 277
 justius 277
 juv(e)nis 235
 juvena 356 (3)
 juvente 318
 juxta 81, 96

 k 246, 253
 kadamitatem 289 (3)
 kanditos = candidus 330
 karessemo 201
 Karica 37 (-icca)
 kaukoulato = cal- 288
 kleme(n)s 311
 kozous = conjux 311, 339
 kumate 298
 ky = qui 187, 223

l: see Liquids
 ly 274
 la = illa 392
Labials
 Assimilation 313
 b 315-9
 initial 316
 intervocalic 318
 by, py, vy 273, 319
 f 320-1
 Fall of Vowel after
 Labial 235-6
 Influence on Vowels 217
 p 312-4
 u 326
 v 322-5
 after liquid 323
 intervocalic 324
 Voicing 314
 laborait = -avit 424
 laceus 254
 lacte 367
 lactem 347
 lacus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 ladro 372
 ladrone 372
 lætiscere 34
 lambros 331
 lamna 235
 lampada 356 (3)
 lampa(s) 38, 144, 335
 lancia 224
 la(n)terna 306
 lanutus 42
 lapsus 315
 laqueum 347; cf. 254
 lardum 237
 Latinization 1, 2
 latrone (nom.) 367
 lat(t)rones 164
 lattucæ 266
 Lauriatum 224
 lausenga 37 (-ing)
 lauzi 443
 Lazis = Ladiis 339
 lealis 263
 lebat 318
 lebis 318
 lebra 256
 lectio 9
 lectus -um 347
 lectus (p.p.) 440
 legare 201
 leges 259
 legit 259
 legui 428
 leniit 423
 lenticula 42
 lentis (nom.) 367
 leo 38
 leticia 276
 levare 34
 leviarius 39
 levior 377
 levitus 435, 439

 lexi 428, 429
 Liaison 133, 159
 liamen 263
 libe(n)s 311
 liberio 298
 libertas (nom. pl.) 357 (1)
 libraria 37
 ligare 201, 263
 ligna (sg.) 352
 lignum -us 172 (2), 347
 liminare 37
 linguas (nom.) 357
 liniamenta 224
 Linking 133, 159
 lintium 224
Liquids
 Assimilation 293
 Dissimilation 292
 Fall of Vowel after
 Liquid 237
 Fall of Vowel before
 Liquid 233-4
 l 287-9
 ly 274
 Metathesis 294
 r 290-6
 rs 291
 ry 296
 lit(t)era 163
 lit(t)us 163
 Livitta 37 (-ittus)
 ll > l 161
 llave 288
Locative 86
 locun 305
 locuplens 311
 locuplex 255
lodi 443
loir 166
 longa mente 41
 longe 40
 longior 377
 longius 377
 longum tempus 13
 loquella 42
 loreola 213
Lost Words 11-4
 lotus 213

luce (dat.) 244
 lucēre 399
 lucire 400
 lucor 37
 lucto 355 (1)
 lucus = locus 205
 ludus 12
 lugēre 399
 lugire 400
 luminem 347
 lunæ dies 89
luoghi -ora 349
 lūrdus 207 (1)
 luridus 166, 207 (1)
 luxi 429
 luxuria 355 (2)
 ly 274

 m: see Nasals
 ma = mea 388
 -*ma* 38
 machina 144
 machinari 9
 macra 376
 madias = majas 272
 madio = majo 272
madrema 388
 maestati 259
 maester 259
 magias = majas 272
 magida = 38, 145
 ma(g)is 56, 71, 74, 84, 157,
 259
 ma(g)ister 259
 magnisonans 44
 magnus 12
 Maia 188, 222
 Maiiam 222
 mais = magis 157, 259
 major 170, 377
 mala mente 41
 male 40
 male habitus 44
 malicia 276
 malleus 274
 mal(l)o 161
 malus malus 55
 mam(m)a 16, 359

mam(m)anis 359
 mammula 13
 manducare 13
 mane 13
 man(i)ca 239
manicā 37 (-icca)
 maniplus 42, 233
 manos 355 (1)
 mansi 429
 mansio 12
 mansorius 39
 mansus 441
 manuaria 18
 manuplus 42
 manus (masc. and fem.)
 346 (1)
 manu tenere 46
Maps: pp. x, xi
 Marcianus 278
 Marculus 284
 mare (fem.) 349
 marem 347
 mares = -is 244
 mari -e 364
 marinarius 39
 maris (masc. and fem.)
 347, 349
 markensis 39
 marmor (fem.) 353; cf.
 347, 369
 ma(r)mor 292; cf. 347, 353
 marmora 351
 marmorem 347, 369
marrir 407
 marrjan 407
 Marsianesses 277
 Marsuas 187
 Marsyas 187
 mas = magis 157
 mascel 242
Masculine: see Gender
 masc(u)lus 234
 masma = maxima 238
 massa 338
 mate(r) 295
 materia 355 (2)
 matrona(s) 298
 mat(t)rona 164

matutinus 13
 maurus 336
 maxime 56
 maximus 56, 220, 238, 297
 maxumus 220
Meanings of Words 7-10
Change of Meaning 8-
10
 mecu 309
 Medea 190
 Medentius 338
 media 272
 medianus 39
 medicus 239
 medio die 43
 medio loco 43
 medius 272
 meletrix 292
 melior 377
 melius 56, 377
 melum 195 (5)
 membras 352
 memoramus (perf.) 424
 -men 37
 mendatium 276
 me(n)sa 311
 mense(m) 309
 mensi (pl.) 368
 me(n)sis 171, 198, 201,
 311
 me(n)sor 311
 mensorium 37
 menta 184
 -mente 41
 mente habere 46
 mentire 409
 -mentum 37
 mentus 347
 menūs 201
 mercatus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 meretis 232
 meridies 281 (2)
 mer(i)to 237
 mers = merx 255
Messac 277
 messui 428
 messura 37
 met- 24, 66

Metathesis 245, 255, 289

(1), 294

Metiacus 277

metipse 24, 66

metipsinus 66

metitus 441

meuble 204 (1)

meus = mi 87

mextum = mæstum 255

mezzo 272

mi = meus -a 87, 387

mi = mihi 250, 385

miaulare 17

michi 252

mienta 184

migat = micat 256

mihe 244

milex 255

mille 161, 381

millefolium 38

mil(l)ia 161

mimoriæ 229 (2)

minester 201

ministeri(i) 89, 227

mi(ni)sterium 231

minist(r)orum 292

minor 377

minsis 198, 201

minus 201, 377

minus- 29, 245

> mis- 245

minus credere 29

minus est 29

minus pretiare 46

minutus 10

mirabilia 37, 229 (4),

231

mis = meis 388

mis- 245

miscere 399

misculare 35

miseria 376

mis(s)i 161, 163, 429

missorium 37

mis(s)us 441

mistus 440

mixticius 39

mobilis 204 (1), 217

moc 428

modernus 18

modo modo 40

moere = mov- 324

Moesia 187

molui 428

molutus 439

monarchia 37

monasterium 182

-monia 37

monibam 420

moniti = mu- 228

-monium 37

mo(n)strare 311

monumento = -um 244

Mood 115-9

morbu(s) 298

mordere 399

morire 406

moriri 406

Morphology 345-450

morsi 429

morsus 441

mortificare 46

mortu(u)s 226

mossus 438, 440, 441

motto 187

movi 428

movit 244

movita 37; cf. 438, 439

movitus 438, 439; cf. 37

movutus 438, 440

muc(c)us 163

mueble 204 (1)

mul'erem 225

mulier 9, 136

mulieris 136

mullus 187

mulsi 429

multum 74

multus 71

untu = multum 289 (2)

mur 206

murare 229 (5)

muri -a 349

muritta 37 (-ittus)

murta 187

mutare 229 (5)

Mute + Liquid 132, 160

mut(t)ire 162

myrta 187

Mysia 187

mysterium 182, 187

n: see Nasals

n + fricative 171, 311

ny 274

nacui 428

nam 11

narratus 37 (-ta)

Nasals 303-11

Final or + Cons. 304-6

-m falls 309

-n falls 310

mn 307

n + fricative 171, 311

ny 274

nasco 255

nascutus 438

nasum -us 347

natatorium 37

nativitas 37

natus 13, 438

naucella 13

naufragus 325

nautat 236

navicella 37

navitat 236

ne 14, 75, 83, 229 (2)

Nebitta 37 (-ittus)

nebula 235

necare 9

necator 37

necatus 435, 440

necavi 428

nec ente 71

nec unus 71

ne ente 71

negare 263

negat 256

Negation 75

negliencia 259

nemo 71

neofiti 334

nepoti(s) 298

ne'ps'unus 71

nepta 37
 neptia 37
 neptilla 13
 Nerba 317, 323
nerbo 323
nerf 323
 Neroua 322
 nervia 349
 nervus 323, 349
Neuter: see **Gender**
 ni = ne 229 (2)
 nichil 251
 niepos 177
 ni(g)rum 270
 nihil 71, 250, 251
 nil 250
 nimpæ 332
 nise 229 (4)
 nitidus 238
 nittus 238
 nivicare 18, 33
 nobe 318
 nobilis 11
 nobis 318, 385
 nocēre 399
 nocui 223, 328
 noembrios 324
 noembris 324
 noicius 324
 nolo 161
 nome 336
 nomem 305
 nomes = nomina 369
Nominative 97, 100, 373, 383
 Absolute 97
 non 75, 203
 nona(i)nta 380
 nonna 16
 nonnita 37 (-ittus)
 nonnitus 37 (-ittus)
 nonnus 16
 noptiæ 207 (2)
 nora 208 (3)
 Normannice 40
 norus 208 (3)
 notrire 229 (5)
 noii 40

Nouns 345-73
 see **Declension and Gender**

nous 177, 324
 nova(i)nta 380
 novellus 13
 novius 207 (2)
 noxeus 224
 ns 171, 311
 nubis 366
 nulli (gen.) 395
 nullus 71, 395
 num 83
Numerals 57-8, 378-82
 Accent 142
 nummus 328
 nun = non 203
 nunc 12
 nuncius 276
 nuncquam 305
 nunqua(m) 305, 306, 309
 nupsi 297
 nutrire 166, 229 (5)
 nutritio 37
 nutritura 37
 ny 274
 nynfis 306

o 165, 167, 177, 197, 202-5, etc.
 accented 202-5
 ō 202-4
 ō > o 197, 203
 ou > ou 167
 o > u 202
 o > ou 203
 ō 165, 205
 ō > o 205
 o > uo 177
 o for au 212-3
 oi > æ > e 192, 215
 oó > o 225
 ou > ou 167
 unaccented 219, 228, 229 (6), 243, 244
 uó > o 225
 -o 37, 40
 o (Greek) 186

ω (Greek) 18;
 ob 14, 79
 ob- 28
 obdormire 28
 obferre 32
 obliscor 324
 oblitare 34
 obprimere 32
 observasione 277
 oc 251
 occansio 311
 occidere 212
 occubavit 256
 occu(m)bas 306
 occurrere 406
 -occus 37
 ocio 276
 ocium 276
 octa(gi)nta 380
 oc(u)lus 219, 234
 odedere 426
 Odissia 187
 œ 215
 œ for æ and e 215
 offeret 406
 offerire 406
 offersi 429
 offertus 435, 440
 offila 235
 oi > œ > e 192, 215
 oi (Greek) 192
 ola 213
 oleo 274
 oleum 38, 274
 oli 274
 oli(m) 309
 olio 274
 omnes = -is 244
 omnimodus 44
 omnis 12, 71
 omo 251
 -omus 446
 on 71
 -on 36
 -on 38
 -on 38
 -ones 40
 -oneus 39

-onius 39
 -ons 446
 -o(n)sus 311
 onus 11
 oó > o 225
 operare 409
 ophekion = officium 334
 opprobare 28
 -or 37, 42
 feminine 346 (2)
 -or > -re 245
 -or > -ura 42
 ora = hora 251
 oracionem 276
 orata = aur- 212
 oratia = Hor- 251
 oratorium 37
 orbus 9
Order of Words 50-3
Ordinal Numerals 382
 -orem 346 (3)
 oricla 212, 229 (7)
 oridium 339
 -orium 37
 -orius 39
 orma 186, 337
 ornatura 37
 orphanus 186
 ortaret 432
 ortus = hor- 251
 orum = aurum 212
 orzo 272
 os (masc.) 349
 -os (Greek) 38
Oscan 2
 -osco > -usco 197, 202-3
 ossiculum 42
 ossuculum 42
 ossulum 37
 ossum 356 (3)
 ostensio 37
 ostensor 37
 ostentare 34
 ostia = hos- 251
 ostium 202
 ostrum = aus- 212
 ot = aut 213, 229 (7)
 ote = aut 213, 229 (7)

otia 277
 otobris 266
 otogentos 266
 -ottus 37
 ov (Greek) 193
 ou > ou 167
 Ouiouia = Vibia 318, 322
 oum 167, 324
 ovum 167, 217, 324
 oze = hodie 272
 ozie = hodie 272

 p: see **Labials**
 paceveci = pacifici 321
 pagandum 256
 paganus 8, 263
 pa(g)e(n)sis 39, 259
 palanca 332
 palasium 277
Palatalization 258-62,
 272-8, 296
Palatals 271-8, 296
 by 273
 c': see **Gutturals**
 cy 276, 278
 dy 272
 g': see **Gutturals**
 gy 272
 j 271
 ly 274
 ny 274
 py 273
 ry 296
 scy 275
 ssy 275
 sty 275
 sy 275
 ty 276-7
 vy 273
 palatium 277
 palleum 224
 palma 145
 palpebrum 352
 palpres 134
 pandiderunt 426
 pani 364
 panneus 39
 pantaisar 332

paor 324
 papaver (masc.) 347, 369
 papilionis (nom.) 367
 pap(p)a -us 16
 papyrius 39
 parabula 144, 236
 parabulare 155
 paradisus 190
 paraula 236, 318
 parcuī 428
 parere 414
 parens 10, 12
 parentis (nom.) 367
 parentorum 368
 pari 364
 par(i)etes 136, 225
 parietibus 224
 Parigi 86, 227
 pari mente 41
 Paris 86
 Parisiis 227
 parsi 429
 parsus 439, 441
 part 160
 partentem 416
Participle
 Fut. Active 106
 Fut. Passive 105, 408
 Perfect 102, 108, 434-41
 Present 102, 104, 107,
 408
Particles 156-8
 particularis 39
 partunt 416
 parutus 438, 439
 pasmer 300
 passans 39
 passi(m) 309
Passive 112-4, 409
 passos 355
 paucum tempus 13
 paucus 71
 paul(l)um 161
 Paulus -onis 362
 paupera 376
 pauperorum 376
 pausa 38
 pavi 428

- pa(v)onem 324
 pa(v)orem 324
 pavura 42
 pavutus 440
 paze 260
 pectinare 33
 pectorem 347
 pediculus 42
 pedis (nom.) 367
 peduculum 234
 peduculus 42
 pejor 170, 377
 pejus 377
 pelegrinus 292
 pellabor 293
 pellicere 293
 pellige 293
pello 293
 pendutus 441
 pe(n)sare 171, 311
 pensi 429
 pensus 441
Penult 232-9
 per 14, 79, 93, 96, 99
 per > pel 293
per 160
 per- 26
 percolopabat 237
 perdedit 139, 426
 perdita 37 (-ta)
 perdonare 26
 perdutus 438, 439
pere 160
 pere(g)rinus 270
 peres = pedes 281 (2)
Perfect 121-4, 410, 422-31
 Strong 427-31
 Weak 422-6
Perfect Participle: see
 Participle
Perfect Subjunctive 119,
 123-4
 per giro 48
 per girum 48
 peria(t) 285
Periphrastic Future 126
 perít 423
 perlum = præ- 294
 perpenna 292
 persi 429
 pe(r)s(i)ca 239
 persona 71
Personal Pronouns: see
 Pronouns
 persus 439, 441
Pesaro 151
 pessica 291
 pessimus 377
pestio 284
 pestulum 284
 petít 423
 Petrus -onis 362
petto 160
 peuma 368
 ph: see **Greek Consonants**
 phalanx 181
 pharetra 145
 phaselus 334
 Phasis 181
 Phebus 192
 phiala 145
 philosophia 37
 philus 184
 phimus 184
 Phitonis 332
 phitonissæ 332
 phoca 185
 Phœbus 192
Phonology 131-344
 Phye bæ = Phœbe 215
piano 40
 pictus 440
 pietas 298
pietra 160
 pignus 172 (2)
 pi(g)ritia 270
 Pilipus 332
 pinctus 440
pinî 365
 pinxi 429
 piper 38, 183, 347, 369
 piperem 347, 369
 pirata 144, 190
 Pisaurese 297
 Pisaurum 151
pitocco 185
 pius 167
 placentia 37
plach 154
 placuit 223, 326
 plagiare 33
 plangit 259
 plantare 33
 planura 37
 planxi 429
 platea 146, 190
 plaudisti 426
 pleps 297, 315
 plicare 10, 435
 plicatus 435
 plodere 213
 ploja 169, 208 (4), 273
 plostrum 212
 plotus 212, 213
 plovere 169, 208 (4), 217
 pluere 169, 208 (4), 217
Pluperfect 118, 123-4, 410
 432, 433
Pluperfect Subjunctive
 118, 123, 433
 plurigo = pr- 292
 plus 56, 74
 pluvia 169, 208 (4), 273
poco 40
 podium 272
 poella 208
 pœna 192
 poeta 192
 poggio 272
 polippus 145
 pollicare 37
 pollulum 213
pols 370
poltre 134
polve 370
pulvo 370
 polypus 145
 pomex 207 (2)
 pon(e)re 239
 pontevecem 321
 pontivicatus 256
 pontufex 220
 poplex 255
 pop(u)lus 10, 235

- por 14
 porcellus 37
 porphyreticum 187
 portare 12
 posi = posui 428, 429
Position 160-4
 positus 238, 439
 posmeridianus 285
 posse 126 (3), 403 (1)
Possessives: see Pro-
nouns
 posso 403 (1)
 pos(t) 96, 285
 postea 275
 pos(t)quam 11, 285
 posturus 238
 postus 238
Post-Verbal Nouns 21
 posueram 285
 posuet 244
 posui(t) 285
 potebam 403 (1)
 potebo 403 (1)
 poteo 403 (1)
 potere 403 (1)
pōteri 410
 potestas 356 (3)
 potionare 33
 potis 17
 potius 74
 prae 14
 prae- 28
 praeber(e) 242
 praecoca 376
 praeda 209
 praedestinare 28
 praediscer(e) 242
 praefetto 266
 praegna(n)s 255, 311
 praestare 31
 praestavi 422, 430
 praestus 376
 prandium 272
pranzo 272
 pre- 28
 prebiter 300
 preda 209
Prefixes 21-32
 pregnax = praegnans 255;
 cf. 311
 prendere 225, 250
 prendiderunt 426
 prendo 250
 prensi 429
 prensio 37
 prensus 441
Prepositions 76-81, 85-9
 presbyter 148, 300
 presbyterum 148
Present 120
 for Future 126 (1)
 Stems 273, 397, 401,
 403-5, 415, 416-9
 presentis (nom.) 367
 presium 277
 pressi 429
 pressorium 37
 pressura 37
 pressus 441
 presta 210
 presteti 139
prete 300
 pretium 277
preveire 300
 pride(m) 309
 primitius 324
 principens 367
 pri(n)cipis 306
 Prixsilla 255
 pro 14, 79, 95
 pro- 28
 probai 424
Proclitics 156-8
 prodis 17
 Progne 330
 proles 11
 prolongare 28
 promptulus 39
Pronouns 59-71, 383-95
 Demonstrative 61-8
 Indefinite 71, 395
 Interrogative 69-
 70, 393-4
 Personal 60, 67, 384-6
 Possessive 60, 387-8
 Relative 69-70, 393-4
Pronunciation 131-344
 prophetissa 37
 prophetizare 19
 propietas 292
 propio 292
 propter 14, 79, 96
 provata 318
 provitus 435, 439
 proximus 377
 psallere 36, 337
 ptisana 145
 pudicicia 276
 pugnus 172 (2)
 pulvus 347, 370
 punctus 440
 puni = poni 203
punidor 39
 punxi 429
 pupillabus 358
 puplu 309
 pup(p)a 163
 pure 40
 puritas 37
 purpura 145, 186, 330,
 332
 purpureticum 187
 putator = po- 229 (6)
 puteolis 136
 puteum 347
 putrire 400
 putrisco 400
 puulva 356 (3)
 Pyrrhus 187
 pyxis 187
 q 246, 252, etc.
 qu 223, 226, 254
 qu > k, 226, 254
 qua 82
 quadraginta 142, 380; cf.
 259
 quadra(i)nta 380
 quaero 283
 quæsi 426, 429
 quæstus 436, 440
 qualis 70, 71, 394
 qamta 306
 quan 305

- quando 14, 82, 281
quannu 281
Quantity 159-77, 221
 Development of New Quantity 176-7
 Disappearance of Old Quantity 173-5
 Doubtful Quantity 166
 Length before Consonants 170-2
 Position 160-4
 Unaccented Vowels 174, 221
 Vowels in Hiatus 167-9
 Vowel Length 165-77
 Words from Other Languages 174-5
 quantu(m) 309
 quantus 12, 71
 quare 12, 82
 quarranta 142, 259, 380
 quase 244
 quasi 83, 219, 244
 quat(t)or 226, 379
 quattordecim 379
 quat(t)ro 226, 245, 379
 quei 393
 quejus 393
 que(m) 309
 quen 305, 309
 querceus 39
 quercinus 39
 querel(l)a 42
 questor 210
 questus 210
 quetus 225
 qui 69, 71, 393
 qui = quia 82
 qui = ky 187, 223
 quia 82, 110, 168
 quiæti 209
 quicumque 71
 quid 350
 quidem 11
 quiensces 311
 quietus 225
 quin 11
 quinqu(a)nta 142, 380
 quinque 172 (1), 200
 Quintrio = Win- 344
 quippe 11
 quique 71
 quiritare 229
 quis 69, 71, 350, 393
 quisque 71
 quisquis 71
 quo 73
 quo = quod 282
 quoad 11
 quod 14, 82, 110, 282, 350
 quodlubet 220
 quomodo 14, 82
 > comodo 226
 quoniam 14, 82, 110
 quooperta = co- 254
 quoque 11
 quot 12, 71
 quot = quod 282
 quum > cum 226

r: see Liquids
 rs > ss 291
 rabies 319
 radius 272
 rænante = reg- 269
raggio 272
 rama (pl.) 361
ramenc 37 (-incus)
 rancura 42
 ranucula 42
 rap(i)dus 239
 rasi 429
 rasio = ratio 277
 ratio 277
razzo 272
 re- 23, 25
 recapitulare 25
 recípit 139
 recolli(g)endo 259
Recomposition 31, 32, 139
 rectus 440
 recubitus 37 (-ta)
reculons 40
 reddedi 31, 139
 redempti 429
 redempti 313
 redit 423
 redivit = -bit 318
 refusare 17
 re(g)alis 263
 re(g)ina 259
 regis = -es 244
 regnancte 267
 regnum 172 (2)
Relatives: see Pronouns
 reli(n)quat 306
 relinque = -it 285
 remasit 311
 Remidium 272
 remissa 37 (-ta)
 renégat 139
 renum = reg- 269
Repetition 40, 55, 74
 replenus 23
 repositorium 37
 reprehensus 250
 requærere 25, 139
 requærit 139
 requebit 225
 res 10, 71, 355 (2)
 res nata 13, 71
 respondere 399, 449
 responduntur 449
 responsi 429
 restitueram 285
 restivus 39
 resurge(n)s 311
 retinere 31, 139
 retenet 139
 retetere = reddere 286
 retina 17
 retro 81
 retro- 28
 retro(r)sum 291
 retundus 229 (6)
 reuwardent 344
 reve(r)sus 291
 reversus sum = reverti 410
 revolutio 37
 rexi 297, 429
 rhetor 335
 rhetorissare 33
richesse 341
 rictu = rectum 198

- ridēre 399
 rideri 409
 riges = re- 198
 rigna 198
 rikitia 341
Rimini 86
 ripidus 39
riqueza 341
 risi 429
 risus 441
 rius 241, 324
 rivaticus = rip- 314
 rivocaverit 229 (2)
 roborem 347
 robur 9, 347
 rogavo = -bo 318
 ro(g)itus 259, 435
Romance Territory: p. xi
Roman Empire: p. x
 Romanice 40
 Romanu (nom.) 372
 -pos 38
 rosi 429
 rosum = ros 356 (3)
 rosus 441
 roubōn 36, 341, 398
 rs > ss 291
rubare 36, 341, 398
 rubeus 319
rugiada 356 (3)
 rura 351
 ru(r)sum 291
 russum 291
 rutare 34

s: see Sibilants
final s in 1st pers. pl.
 445
initial s + cons. 230
 scy, ssy, sty, sy 275
 sa = ipsa 392
 -sa 37 (-ta)
 sabbatizare 19
 sablum 235
 sacra 376
 sacramentum 231
 sacrista -anis 359
sacristano 359

 sacritus = *διάκριτος* 272
 sæculum (masc.) 349
 sæpes sepes sæps 209, 367
 sæpia 182
 saginæ 42
 Sagitta 37 (-ittus)
 sagma 19, 268; (fem.) 349
 Saguntum 338
saine 42
saint 267
sālbatec 229 (3)
 salbum 317
 salii 422, 428
 salitus 436, 440
 salivi 428
salma 268
 salsi 428, 429
 salsus 440, 441
 saltem 11
 salticulare 35
salvage 229 (3)
salvatico 229 (3)
 salvaticus 229 (3)
 sanctissimus 377
 san(c)tus 172 (1), 267
sandal 330
 sanguem 370
sanh 267
sapcha 272
 sapēre 402
 sapiam 272
 sapidus 39
 sapienti (pl.) 368
sappia 272
 sapui 426, 428
 satis 74
 sauma 268
 scabia 355 (2)
 scæna 182, 210
 scalciare = excalceare 230
 scandalizare 19
 scaplas 234
 Sca(u)rus 211 (1)
 scena 182
 schema 19
schernire 341
schiatia 343
schietto 343

schioppo 284
 sclitib. (stlis) 284
 scloppus 284
 scopulus 38
 scoriare = excor- 230
 scriba -anis 359
 script 312 (1)
 scripsi 315, 429
 scriptum 315
 scri(p)tus 313, 440
scrivano 359
 scrior 313
 se = si 229 (4)
 se = è 419 (1)
 sead = sit 419 (2)
 sebe = sibi 201
 secatus 435, 440
 secula 200 (3)
 secu(n)do 306
 secuntur 254
 sed 11, 14
 sed = se 229 (4)
sedano 335
 sed(e)cim 239
 sedere = esse 402, 419
 seditur 399
 sedui 428
 sedutus 441
 segnai = signavi 424
segolo 200 (3)
sei 419 (1)
sel 160
 selinum 150
sem 419 (1)
Semelé 359
 semita 239
semo 419 (1)
 semper semper 74
 sempre 245
 semul 201, 201 (2)
senape 184
 senatus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 sene = sine 201
 senex 12
 senper 306
 senta = semita 239
 sentam 416
 sententem 416

- sent* 298
sentia 421
sentii 428, 429
sentitus 436, 441
sentor 37
 separare sepearare 231, 233
sepelitus 436, 440
sepes 209
sepia 146, 182
seppia 182
sepsies 277
septa(gi)nta 380
septe(m) 309
septum 260
septuazinta 339
septum 209
sepulchrum 251
sequere 406
sequere 406
serbare 323
serbat 323
serbus 317
Serios = *Sergius* 272
serore = *so-* 229 (7)
serpentinus 37
serra = *sera* 247
serutinus 16
servare 323
servicium 276
servire 323
servisium 277
servitium 276, 277
servitudo 37
ses = *es* 419 (1)
šeš 419 (1)
sest = *est* 419 (1)
set = *est* 419 (1)
set = *sed* 282
seta 209
setaceus 39
setis = *estis* 419 (1)
settembre 313
seus = *suus* 387
si 14, 83, 229 (4)
si = *sibi* 385
siam 419 (2)
siamus 419 (2)
sibe 219, 244
sibi 201, 219, 221, 244, 385
sibi 219, 244, 385
Sibilants 297-302, etc.
 final s 298, 445
 initial s + *cons.* 230
 scy, ssy, sty, sy, 275
 ss > *s* 161
 z: see **Greek Conso-**
 nants
sic 264
Sicilianus 39
sidibus = *se-* 198
siede 419 (1)
siem 419 (2)
siete 419 (1)
sifatto 264
siffler 318 (2)
sifilus 318 (2)
signum -us 172 (2), 347
sigricius = *secretius* 256
silevit 422, 428
simus 220, 419 (1)
sinapis -e -i 38, 150, 184,
 337
sinatus 228
sine 95, 201
sinexter 201 (3)
-iio 37
sirena 356 (3)
sis = *si vis* 324
sive 11
skëna 341
skërnôn 341
skiuhan 343
slahta 343
slëht 343
soaru 295
soave 224
sobreus 224
socera 37
soc(e)rum 232, 233
soef 224
sofferire 406
sol 13
solacium 276
sola mente 41
solatium 276
solbere 317
solbit 323
solia 224
soliculus 13, 18
sol(i)dus 237
solingo 37 (-incus)
solo (dat.) 395
solsi 429
soltus 438, 439, 440
soluit 224
solus 395
solutus 438
solvitus 438, 439
soma 268
somos 419 (1)
sona = *zona* 338
sonatus 435
sons 419 (1)
sophia 146
-iior 37
sorcerus = *sortiarius* 39
 (-arius)
sordidius 377
sorex 42, 213
soricem 42, 213
-iorium 37
-iorius 39
oro(r) 295
sous = *suus* 167, 387
sozer 154
spacium 276
spallere 337
spandere = *exp-* 230
Spania 230
Spanus 230
sparsi 429
sparsus 441
spasmus 144
spat(h)a 332
spat(u)la 12, 38, 234
specu = *spica* 200 (3)
speclarait = -avit 424
spectante = *exp-* 230
spëhon 343
spelunca 329
spene 355 (2)
speni from *spes* 355 (2)
speramus = -avimus 424
sperantia 37

spes 355 (2)
 spiritus (2d decl.) 355 (1)
 splorator = exp- 230
 spoliatur = -or 244
 spo(n)sus 171
 spontaneus 39
squarciare 276
 ss > s 161
 staacio 276
 stablarius 231
 stagnum (masc.) 349
 stahu 397
 stais 397
 stait 397
 stantia = inst- 230
 stao 397
 stare 397
 stasio 277
 statio 277
 status 438
stau 397
 staunt 397
stegola 200 (3)
 stel(l)a 163
 Stephanus 183
 steti 426, 428, 430
stetti 426
 stetui 426, 428, 430
 steva 200 (3)
 stilla = stella 198
 stingo 226
 -stinxi 429
 stipes = stips 367
 stirpis (nom.) 367
 stlataris 284
 stlis 284
 stloppus 284
 storax 187
 stren(n)a 163
 stren(n)uor 164
Stress : see **Accent**
 sriban 341
 strictus 440
 strinctus 440
 strinxi 429
 strofa 334
 stropa 334
 stroppus 186

strucere 417
 structus 440
 struere 417
 strugere 417
 strumentum = inst- 230
 struxi 429
 stupescere 35
 stup(p)a 163
 suabitati 318
 suadel(l)a 42
 suavis 224
 Suavitta 37 (-ittus)
 sub- 26
 subaudire 26
 subcludere 26
 subcumbere 32
Subjunctive 117-9
 for Imper. 116
 for Indic. 117
 Imperfect 118
 Perfect 119, 410
 Plup. = Imperf. 118
 Pres. 397, 403, 405, 415,
 419 (2)
 sublimus 376
 submonsus 439, 441
 subornatrix 255
 subplantare 32
 subsannare 26
Substitution of Words 13
 subterraneus 42
 subtus 81
 suc(c)us 163
suceroni 362
 sud = sub 315
 sufferit 406
 suffertus 435, 440
Suffixes 33-42
 Change of Suffix 42
 for Adj. 39
 for Adv. 40, 41
 for Nouns 37, 38
 for Verbs 33-6
 Greek Endings 36, 38
 suis (nom.) 367
 sulphurem 347, 369
 sumpsi 298
 sumptus 308

sumus 220, 419 (1)
suora 295
 suos 138
 super 80, 90, 96
 super- 26
 superabundare 26
 superfacere 26
 superstitis (nom.) 367
Supine 103
 sup(p)ra 164
 sup(p)remis 164
 supra- 26
 suprafacere 26
 supre 245
 -sura 37
Surd > **Sonant** : see **Voicing**
 sursi 429
 su(r)sum 291
 surtus 440
 sus = suus 226, 388
 -sus 37, 441
 sus(s)um 291
 sutis 419 (1)
 suus 60, 387-8
 sy = ty 277
 sycotum 141
Syllabication 131-3
 symphonia 146, 332
Syncope 219, 229, 231-9
Synonyms 12
Syntax 50-130

 t : see **Dentals**
 ty 276-7
 -ta 37
 tab(u)la 236
 tactus 440
 talentum 149, 330
 talis 71
 tamen 11, 14, 84
 tan 306
 tantus 440
 tanger(e) 242
 tantu(m) 309
 tantus 71
 tanxi 429
 tapinus 144

- tapis* 182
tapit 182
 tap(p)ete 162
 tarde 40
tarir 342, 407
 -tas 37
tasso 342, 343
 tata 16; -anis 359
 Tatus 277
 tatus 16
 taula 236, 318
 taurellus 37
 taxi 429
 telebra = ter- 292
tempaccio 39
 tempesta 356 (3)
 templus 347
tempo 298
 tempus 13
 tenit 244
 ten(n)uis 164
Tense 120-30
 tensi 429
 tensura 13
 tensus 441
 ténueram 137
 tenui 428
 tenuitus 438, 440
 Teodor 332
 -ter 40
 tercius 276
 Terentio = -us 298
 tergere 399
 tergum -us 347
 termen 356 (3)
 terminaciones 276
 terra(m) 309
 tersi 429
 tersus 441
 -της 38
 testa 13
 tetrus 376
 texui 428
 textutus 440
 thahso 342, 343
 tharrjan 342, 407
 theios 333
 thensaurus 311
 Theophilus 333
 thesaurizare 19
 thesaurus -um 189, 347
 thrëscan 342
 ti = tibi 385
 -tiacum 277
 tibe 244
 tibi 221, 244, 385
 -tim 40
timbre 187, 331
 timor (fem.) 346 (2)
 timoratus 39
timpurî 369
 tinctus 440
 tingo 226
 tinguerë 226
 tins < census 260
 tinxi 429
 -tio 37
 Titius 277
Tivoli 86
 toll(e)re 239
 tollitus 435, 439
 tolsi 428, 429
 tolui 428
 tomolus = tumu- 208
 tonatus 435
 tondere 399
 tonica = tu- 208
 tonsus 441
 -tor 37
 torcere 399
 torco 226, 399
 toreomatum 191
 -torium 37
 -torius 39
 torma = tu- 208
 tornus 186
 torqu(e)o 226, 399
 torsi 428
 tortus 440
 tot 71
tot 204 (2)
 toto (dat.) 395
 tot(t)us 12, 71, 163, 204 (2),
 395
 totum (adv.) 74
 tous = tuus 387
 tra- 26, 299
 trabucare 26
 tracere 417
 tractatus 9
 tractus 440
 tradedit 31, 139
traducir 299
traduire 299
 Tragani = Traj- 259
 tragere 417
 trahere 417
 trans- 26, 299
 transannare 26
 tra(ns)duco 299
 tra(ns)jicio 299
 tra(ns)luceo 299
 tra(ns)mitto 299
 transplantare 26
 tra(ns)pono 299
 tra(ns)tulo 299
 tra(ns)veho 299
 traps 315
trasporre 299
 travis (nom.) 367
 traxi 429
 trebus 201
 trei = tres 379
trei 298
treis 177
 tremulat 235
 trepaliare 33
 trepalium 16
 tres 379
trescar 342
 trib(u)la 235, 352
 tribuna(l) 242, 289
 Tricasses 151
 trienta 259
 trí(g)inta 142, 259, 380
 trinitas 37
 trinta 380
 tris = tres 198
 tristus 376
 triumphaut 241, 325, 424
 -trix 37
trobaire 37 (-tor)
 Troge = -jæ 259
 Troja 170

Troyes 151
 tructa 38, 185
 trutina 187
 tu 60
 tucti 204 (2)
 -tudo 37
tuit 204 (2)
 tulērunt 450
 -tulus > -clus 234
 tum = tuum 226, 388
 tumum 187
 tuos 138
 -tura 37
 turrensis 39
 turri -e 364
 -tus 37 (-ta), 440
 Tuscanus 39
tutto 204 (2)
 tuttus 204 (2)
 tuus 226, 387-8
 ty 276-7
 ty > cy 277
 ty > sy 277

u 165, 206-8, etc.
 accented 206-8
 ū 206-7
 ū > u 165, 206
 ũ 208
 ũ > u > o 165, 208
 u cons. 222, 326
 ü 178, 187, 192, 206, 220
 ui 216
 unaccented 219, 228,
 229 (5), 243, 244
 in hiatus 222-6
 uo > o 226
 uu > u 226
 uó > ó 225
 uu > u 226
 ubi 73
 -uc(c)us 37 (-icca)
 -uculare 35
 -uculus 42
 -udo > -umen 42
 ü 178, 187, 192, 206, 220
 -ugo 37 (-ago)
 ui 216

-ula 37 (-ulus)
 Ulixes 187
 ultra 166
 -ulus 37, 39
 > -ellus 42
 -um 40
Unaccented Vowels: see
Vowels
 unde 10, 70, 73, 84, 393
 undecim 166, 379
 -undus 39
 ungo 226
 unguere 226
 unicornis 44
 unigenitus 44
 unire 34
 uno (dat.) 429
 -unt = -ent 449
 unus 10, 57, 71, 298, 378, 395
 unu(s) 298
 unxi 429
 uó > o 225
 uo unacc. > o 226
 uobit = obiit 177
 -ura 37, 42
 Uranus 193
 urbis (nom.) 367
 urbs 12, 297, 315, 367
 -ūrem 346 (3)
 urps 297, 315
 usare 34
Use of Cases 85-100
Use of Inflections 85-130
Use of Words 54-84
 usque hodie 47
 ustium 202
 ut 11, 14, 82, 111
 -uta 37 (-ta)
 utrum 11, 14, 83
 -utus 39, 42, 438, 440, 441
 uu unacc. > u 226
 uuadius 344
 -uus > -itus 42
 uxo(r) 295
 uxore (abl.) 244
 v: see Labials
 vacuus 42 195 (6), 223

vadere 126 (5), 405
 vadum 344; -us 347
 valde 237
 valia(t) 224, 285
 Valinca 37 (-incus)
 vallensis 39
 valneas = ba- 316
 vanitare 34
 vaqua = vacua 223
 vaqui = vacui 223
 vastare 344
 vasus -um 347, 356 (3)
 vea = via 201
 vecere = veh- 417
 vecinus 229 (4)
 veculus 234, 284
vedea 421
 veðere 283
vef 226
 vegere = veh- 417
 ve(he)mens 250
 vehere 417
 vel 11
 velle 126 (3), 403
 vendita 37 (-ta)
 vendutus 438
 vene = bene 316
 veni 428, 430
 veninum 42
 venire 126 (5)
 venitus 436, 438, 440
 venui 428, 430
 venuta 37 (-ta)
 venutus 436, 438, 440
 ver 13
 verbex = vervex 323
Verb Forms
 Inflection: see Conju-
 gation
 Use 72, 101-30
Verbs: see Verb Forms
 verbus 347, 349
 verecundia 231
 verecunnus 281
 vernac(ul)us 234
 vernum tempus 13
 ve(r)sus 291
 vertragus 19

vervex 323
 ves(s)ica 162
 vestibat 420
 vetatus 435
 vet(e)ranus 219, 231
vettovaglia 154
 vetulus 12, 13, 234, 284
 vetus 13
 veyo = video 272-3
vezem 445
vezzo 278
 -vi = -vui 428
 via 167, 201
 viaticum 8, 239
 vibī = bibi 318
 vibit = bibit 316
 victore (nom.) 367
 victualia 18, 37
 victurias 203
 vic(u)lus 234, 284
 videderunt 426
 video 272-3, 416
 videre 72, 272-3, 283, 416,
 428, 430, 438, 441
 videunt 416
 vidi 428, 430
 vido = video 416
 vidui = vidi 428, 430
 vidutus 438, 441
 viduus 226
veni 177
 vig(i)lat 259
 vi(gi)nti 142, 259, 380
 vilescere 34
 villa 10, 12, 358
 villabus 358
 Vincentzus 277
 vincisti 426
 vinctus 440
 vincui 428
 vinctus 440
 vindemiator 224
 vindico 239
 vindimia 197
 vindo = ve- 197
 vinia = -ea 224
 vinsi 428, 429
 vinti 380

vinus 347
 virginem 233
 vir(i)diaria 237
 vir(i)dis 237
 vir(i)dura 18, 37
 viror 37
 virtus 10
 visci = vixi 428, 429
 visit = vixit 255; cf. 285, 428
 vistus 441
 visus 441
 vitellus 37
 vitium 278
 vitricus 13
 vit(u)lus 234
 vius = vivus 324
 vivacius 377
 vixit = vixit 255; cf. 285,
 428
 vixi 255, 285, 428, 429
 vixi(t) 285; cf. 255, 428
 vixutus 440
 vobis 385; cf. 318
Vocabulary 6-49
 vocatio = vac- 195 (6)
Vocative 87
 vocitus = vacuus 42, 195 (6)
 vocitus = vocatus 435, 439
 vocuus = vac- 195 (6)
Voice 112-4
Voicing 256-7, 286, 297,
 314, 321
 volatilia 37
 volemus 403 (2)
 volere = velle 403 (2)
 voles 403 (2)
 volestis 403 (2)
 volimus 403 (2)
volon 39 (-undus)
 volsi 429
 voltus 438, 439, 440
 voluntate (nom.) 367
 volutus 438
 volvitus 438, 439
 voster 199 (1), 387
 vovis = vobis 318; cf. 385
Vowels 136-8, 165-245
Accented 194-218

Clerical Pronun. 218
Diphthongs 209-16
Influence of Labials
 217
Single Vowels 194-
 208
 before gn 172 (2)
 before j 170
 before n + fricative 171
 before nk 172 (1)
Breaking 177
Celtic Vowels 179
Close and Open 165
Differentiation 165
German Vowels 179
Greek Vowels 180-93
 in hiatus 136-8, 167-9
 in words borrowed by
 other languages 174-5
Latin Vowels 178
Position 160-4
Quantity 165-77, 221
Unaccented 219-45
Final Syl. 240-5
 in hiatus 222-7
Init. Syl. 228-30
Intert. Syl. 231
Penult 232-9
Quantity 221
Vulgar Latin 3, 4
Vulgar Words 15, 19
 vulnus (masc.) 349

 w (Ger.) 344
 w (Latin) 224
 Waddo 344
 wadum 344
 wahta 343
 walde 344
 Wandali 344
 warjan 344
 warnjan 36, 407
 wastare 344
 watan 19, 344
 werra 19, 344
 werrarius 39
 werrizare 33
 wiðarlön 342

Wintrio 344
 wîsa 344
 witan 36, 398
Word Order 50-3
 wost- 344

x 246, 255, 266

y (Greek) 187
 y (Latin) 224
 ymnus 251

z 246
 zabul(l)us = dia- 339
 zacones = dia- 339
 zaconus = dia- 272, 339
zagante 229 (3)
zampogna 332
 zanuari = ja- 339
 zebus = die- 339
 Zefurus 187
 zelosus 339
 zerax = hierax 339

zes = dies 272
 Zesu = Jesu 272, 339
 zeta = diæta 339
 zie = die 272
zins 260
zio 333
 ziziper 312 (1)
 Zodorus = Theo- 277
 Zogenes = Dio- 272
 zosum = deorsum 339
 Zouleia = Julia 272, 339

633











LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 003 046 782 6

